

Our ends the bane of the
 crowne of Gothland wotten
 the Zeal of god saye it is
 our Be me

no.

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

edited

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE VENERABLE BISHOP OF DURHAM, UNDER THE
AUTHORITY OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH HISTORY,

COMPOSED DURING THE PERIOD,

From the Accession of EDW. III. to that of RIC. III.

EDITED

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

JOHN GOWER was the principal political poet of the John reign of Richard II. His writings of this class are Gower, nearly all in Latin verse, and ostentatiously designed for the most educated classes of society, and he was no advocate of the popular cause, but was evidently guided by his personal partialities to the nobles who led the opposition to the court; yet the changes in his political views were coincident with those which agitated society during Richard's reign. In its earlier period he had written in praise of the young monarch, and sought court favour; but, as we have seen in our former volume, he subsequently took part warmly with the opposition, and attached himself to the party of Henry of Lancaster, and the last of his Latin poems written before the accession of that prince to the throne are bitterly hostile to the person and government of king Richard. The present volume opens with the latest known of these Latin poems, and probably the latest which ever came from his pen. They were professedly written to glorify the new monarch, by commemorating the ruin which had threatened the kingdom under his predecessor, the patriotism and courage Henry had displayed in saving it, and his just title to the crown. We have, however, another poem by the same author, addressed also to Henry IV., but written in English. In this

Gower begins by pointing out the manifest interposition of God, in promoting that prince to the sovereignty of his country, and he urges this circumstance, whereby the people had been no less evidently saved from tyranny and oppression, as one of the strongest proofs of his right to the crown, and at the same time as a substantial ground for the hope that the new government would be prosperous and beneficial to the country. England was still at war with France, but this had been carried on without honour to our country, and Gower expresses the strong feeling of the people in general, in his earnest desire for the establishment of peace. He recommends the king to petition heaven for wisdom in ruling his own people, rather than for the faculty of conquering others. Solomon, who had his choice, chose the former, and his reign was one of peace and glory. Alexander chose the other alternative, and was enabled to carry his conquering arms over the whole world; but, says our poet, the world was then all heathen, and full of sin and confusion, but now, under Christ's faith, everybody is bound to eschew war and to seek peace. The advantages of peace are contrasted in some rather vigorous lines with the injustice and tyranny of war; and the poet advises the king against taking to his councils any partizans of the latter. Christ, he says, came into the world to establish peace, so that war is contrary to our faith; and yet, at this time war prevailed throughout Christendom, and even in Christ's church itself, which was then disputed between two rival popes. Where there was disease in the head, the body must needs suffer; and under these circumstances it behoved the Christian kings to promote peace among themselves for two causes; first, for the protection of the church against internal division; and, secondly,

to defend Christendom against the infidels, who at this time were making dangerous attacks upon it. These blessings were to be hoped from the known character of Henry of Lancaster.

The only manuscript of this poem with which I am acquainted is contained in a volume in the library of the duke of Sutherland at Trentham in Staffordshire, which was made well known by Wharton as containing Gower's French sonnets¹. There appears sufficient reason for believing this manuscript to have been presented to king Henry, after his accession, by the poet, who seems to have been rather vain of his French verses, and the two pieces here printed were probably written on the occasion. They are accompanied by a shorter piece, in Latin elegiacs, here given at the end of the English poem, in which Gower states, that at this time, which was the first year of Henry's reign, he was struck with blindness; and he complains of old age (*torva senectus*), and announces his resolution to write no more, but to leave literature to a younger generation. In fact, there are reasons for supposing that he must now have been considerably advanced in years—perhaps not far short of eighty; he died in 1408.

Gower, though, as a layman, conscious of many abuses in the ecclesiastical state, and wishful for their reform, was still a staunch catholic, and no favourer of what he considered as innovations in religion, and he urged the king above all other things to give the whole support of the secular government to the church. Henry's father, John of Gaunt, had been notoriously a favourer of the Wycliffites; and Henry himself, previous to his accession to the throne, had not been considered a very zealous son of the church;

¹ These were printed by the Gower, ■ a contribution to the late duke of Sutherland, when earl Roxburghe Club.

New Act
against the
Lollards.

so that, at the opening of his reign, the religious reformers took courage, imagined that they were at least sure of toleration, and employed themselves with extraordinary activity in spreading their doctrines. But, to their great disappointment, they soon found their mistake. Henry is accused of having deliberately purchased the support of the Romish clergy in his designs upon the crown by at least a verbal engagement to suppress the sect of the Lollards, and all other heretics; and, be this as it may, the clergy began immediately to display an active spirit of persecution which rendered it not improbable, and the commencement of his reign was marked by a statute against the religious reformers of a severity then unexampled. By the Act of the 2nd Hen. IV., chapter 14 (A.D. 1400), heretics were ordered to be punished by burning at the stake, and this cruel law was immediately carried into effect in the case of William Sawtre, a parish priest convicted of heretical opinions. These proceedings naturally carried consternation among the Wyclifites, but, as is usually the case, persecution on the one hand only increased and embittered the zeal of the persecuted, while some acts of severity on the part of the crown against a few Romish ecclesiastics who had engaged in treasonable conspiracies encouraged them still to hope for a change in their favour. Under these circumstances the Wyclifites slackened nothing in their activity, but they united more warmly with those who were struggling for social and political liberty; and the popular dislike to the Romish priesthood, and especially to the four orders of friars with whom people came into closer communication, was greatly increased. The watchword of this party was still the same which had been raised with so much vigour in the poem of Piers Ploughman, and which demanded the emancipation of the oppressed peasant. But the name of Piers Ploughman had been

exchanged for that of Jack Upland, which was exactly equivalent, as it signified simply Jack the countryman, Jack Upland, or Jack of the country, in contradistinction from the town. About the date just mentioned there appeared a poem under this title in alliterative verse, intended evidently to be circulated among the populace, in which the popular character, Jack Upland, is introduced propounding the various heads of the complaints of the Wycliffites against the Romish church in a series of questions addressed to the friars, who were the most active agents against the professors of the new opinions. This poem appears to have given great alarm, or offence, to the friars, one of whom, whose real name, it is intimated, was John of Walsingham, but who wrote under the assumed and more popular name of Daw Topias, put forth a reply to these questions, compiled in exactly the same style, but sprinkled here and there with rather violent abuse of Wycliffe and the Lollards. A Wycliffite took up the cudgels immediately, and retorted in a similar style, and this last writer alludes to an event as then recent which seems to fix the date of all these pieces to the year 1401. Of the first of these no manuscript appears now to be known, but a copy had been found in the sixteenth century by Stow, and was inserted, without any reason, in the folio black-letter edition of the works of Chaucer. The other two, which may be considered among the most remarkable of the popular records of the history of the religious movement during this period, are preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the Bodleian Library, in which the friar's poem occupies the page of the volume, and the reply of the Lollard is written in a smaller hand in the margins above and below. It was the common practice to write the alliterative poetry as prose, with a slight stroke of the pen to mark the divisions of the lines. Such is the case with the manuscript in the Bodleian Library,

where the divisions of the lines are very distinctly marked. But the copyist of the first poem for the edition of Chaucer, who evidently understood the English of his original imperfectly, and was not at all acquainted with the principles of the old alliterative verse, had really mistaken it for prose, and not only copied it for such, but substituted for the obsolete words with which this class of poetry abounded others which were then better known, and often paraphrased the language in the belief that he was making it better understood. Thus in some parts all traces of its metrical character is lost, and we may judge in many cases how much it is corrupted by comparison with the quotations from it in the structures of "Daw Topias." At the same time it must also be remarked that with the beginning of the fifteenth century the alliterative verse began already to be written very loosely, and, the rhythm being preserved, the alliteration was often left imperfect, or entirely neglected.

JACK
UPLAND.

To begin with Jack Upland, the popular satirist commences with stigmatizing the church of Rome as Antichrist and his disciples, and complains that the worst of these "diverse sects" were those last brought in, the different orders of friars, who neither showed obedience to the prelates of the church nor allegiance to the crown, but sought only to indulge their own selfishness, while they pretended to have the power of selling heaven and earth to whom they liked. After taunting the friars with their great pretensions to knowledge, he proceeds to put certain questions to them, requiring that the answers should be grounded "in reason and holy writ." His first question is a very simple one—if there be so many different religious orders on earth, one must be supposed to be better than another, or there need have been no more than one; and if these orders are not better than the order

which Christ himself founded, namely the Gospel, why should they choose any one of them in preference to it? Moreover, for which should a friar be more severely punished, for breaking the rules of his order or for breaking God's commandments? He asks further, why should a friar be considered an apostate for leaving one order for the purpose of joining another, where they were all considered to belong to Christ's church? In a number of consecutive questions, the friars are accused of placing their religion in their habit, and of furnishing themselves with clothes of rich materials for no other cause but vain-glory; of placing undue importance in vain things, such as particular colours of cloth and particular places; of obtaining dispensations from duties which were uneasy to them; and of pretending to embrace with their profession a life of mortification—to be as dead men; whereas they were the most active beggars alive, and, instead of graves, which were appropriate to dead men, they affected to live in mansions which exceeded in extent and splendour the palaces of the greatest nobles. As proofs of the selfish motives of the orders of friars, it is stated that fixed districts were farmed out to certain limitors, or begging friars, as the name intimates, and that they were not allowed to trespass within each others' limits; that they were exempted from the visitations of the bishops; that they sold for money, and never gave in charity, letters of brotherhood, by which people were entitled after death to a share in their merits; and that they induced people to give them large sums of money for their prayers, on the assurance that these would bring them out of purgatory or hell, while they were ignorant where they should go themselves. Jack Upland asks, with some reason, why, if they had this power, they should not employ it out of love for their fellow men as well as for gain. They are accused also of

Pretensions
and mo-
tives of the
friars.

Their simony.

"stealing" men's children in order to bring them up in their order, a charge which is proved to be true by ■ collective force of contemporary evidence. They sought only to perform the two sacraments, shrift and burial, which brought in most money; and only, therefore, to those who could pay, rejecting the poor. "According to your own doctrine," says the reformer, "holiness consists in poverty, and why, therefore, do you refuse to receive for burial those who are poor?" The friars, we are told, disapproved of preaching, and condemned the secular priests who practised it; they sold God's mass for a penny, and therefore set that sum either on "God's body," which was worse than the crime of Judas, who sold it for thirty pence, or sold their labour, which was bribery and covetousness, or sold the service of the church, which was simony; they entered in their table books the names of those who purchased their pardons, as if God was not likely to remember them; and they justified their system of mendicancy by the example of the Saviour, who, they pretended, had gained his living on earth by begging. In some further questions these particular charges are dilated upon; the reformer complains that the multiplication of friars and other ecclesiastics was an unnecessary and unjust burthen upon the people, and alleges that when Christ had but twelve apostles and a few disciples his work was done much better than since the number of workmen had been so greatly increased. Just as a man works better with four fingers and a thumb to his hand, than he would if the number were doubled; so the superfluity of workmen in the church only encumbered it and made it inefficient. These unworthy workmen locked up the bible from those who were able and willing to read and preach it, and persecuted as heretics those who sought to make its doctrines public. The reformer again repeats the charges that

the friars only sought riches and self-indulgence; that one of them who brought home most money to his house received full absolution for whatever error he might have committed in obtaining it; that they neglected the poor, and chiefly sought out rich men, who could afford to pay them well for their religious consolations; and that these consolations were of such a kind that they encouraged lords and ladies to sin worse than before, instead of amending their lives; and he then again puts some home questions to the friar as to the superiority of one religious order over another. If the friar replied that his own order was the best, he assumed that the other orders were inferior to it; whereas each friar of one of the other orders would give him the lie and say that his own order was best; yet one only could be the best, and therefore three must be false, while there was no means of knowing which was the true one. And this contradiction between the orders was so great that a friar who left his own order to enter another was looked upon as an apostate. Also these orders and rules were assumed not only to be superior to one another, but to be superior also to that rule which had been given by Christ, otherwise why did they not follow Christ's order in preference to all others? Thus it was assumed that St. Francis or St. Dominic was superior in power and knowledge to God himself, an evident blasphemy. "Canst thou, friar, point out any default in Christ's rule of the Gospel, with which he gave all men the certain power to be saved, if they kept it to their ending? If thou sayest it was too hard, thou accusest Christ of untruth; for he said of his rule, 'My yoke is soft and my burden light.' If thou sayest that Christ's rule was too light, that cannot be alleged as a fault, for it only made it the easier to keep. If thou findest no fault in Christ's rule of the

Their contradictions and pre-
sumptuousness.

"Gospol, since Christ himself said it is light and
 "easy, what need was there for the founders of
 "orders of friars to add other rules to it, and so
 "make ■ harder religion to save friars than the re-
 "ligion of Christ's apostles by which his disciples
 "obtained salvation?"

REPLY OF
 FRIAR
 DAW TO-
 PIAS, AND
 JACK UP-
 LAND'S RE-
 JOINDER.

These questions of Jack Upland are put simply, and in a form to be easily understood by minds not accustomed to abstruse reasoning. His opponent, Daw Topias the friar, shows far less temper, and an inclination to browbeat rather than to convince or persuade. He begins by lamenting the degraded state of society which rendered it necessary to reply to such questions, and he reproaches the Lollards in rather abusive language, alleging that Jack Upland's questions were ignorant and foolish, and proclaiming his readiness to answer them, although himself only a "jewel" or uneducated friar. It was, in fact, an attempt on the part of the Romish clergy to encounter the reformers in their own popular field. Daw Topias denies that the friars were other than liege subjects to the king; and asserts that they professed obedience to the bishops, though not in the same degree as the secular priests, inasmuch as holy church had given them exemption. Jack Upland, who repays the friar with language as rude as his own, replies that their non-allegiance to the crown—meaning thereby disobedience to the laws of the realm—was notorious; for when a friar lay under the charge of any crime or vice, his prior took him out of the hands of justice, without the king's authority, and thus, however guilty, he escaped punishment. "Oft," says he, "ye seduce men's wives, and are put in the stocks, but your captains, or superiors, lay claim to you and ask no leave of kings." In reply to the charge of laziness brought against the friars, Daw alleges that each class of society had its particular province, and that, as in a

Disloyalty
 and lazy-
 ness of the
 friars.

man's body, the hands were made to work for the support of the head and the feet and the eyes, so the common people were made by God to labour for holy church and the aristocracy. To this it is answered, that St. Paul and the apostles gained their living by the labour of their hands, and that yet at the same time they performed the duties of the ministry much better than the clergy of modern times, and hated above all things such "bold begging" as was practised by the friars. "You accuse us," says the popular advocate of the old religious system, "of being confounders of prelates and lords . . . but give us any examples of prelates or lords thus confounded." But since that wicked worm named Wycliffe began to sow the seed of schism in the earth, sorrow and ruin have made their appearance everywhere, and are bringing disgrace equally upon lordship and prelacy." On the question of selling the sacraments by simony, the friar endeavours cunningly to throw this charge upon the parish priests, alleging that the only sacrament the friars had to dispense was the absolution of sins; and in retaliation for the charge of interfering unduly in families, he accuses the Wycliffites of seeking to make converts of women, with an evident intimation of something further, which is not declared openly. We know how many women embraced the opinions of the Wycliffites, and suffered martyrdom for maintaining them. In reply, the advocate of the reformation repeats the charge of incontinence against the friars, and offers to forfeit a hundred pounds if the friars can fix a similar charge on any member of the sect of Lollards. Daw justifies the splendour of the ecclesiastical buildings by the example of Solomon's temple, and passes on to a long string of more abuse of the reformers, who, he says, were the plagues sent upon earth by the "blastes" of the seven angels in the Revelations. "The third

Attacks
upon Wy-
cliffe

Splendid
buildings
of the
friars.

Wycliffe
defended

“ angel sent down a star from heaven, fiercely burn-
 “ ing as a brand, it was called wormwood; this truly
 “ was Wycliffe your master; he shone brightly in
 “ appearance at his beginning, but by his false
 “ doctrines afterwards he created much trouble, and
 “ by his rash presumption fell from the church . . .
 “ The heretics Maximinus and Manichæus never
 “ caused more mischief.” This attack on Wycliffe
 roused the indignation of the reformer, who replies:
 “ I wonder, Daw, thou darest thus to lie on so great
 “ a clerk, who was known well in his time by rich
 “ and poor as a virtuous man, but thou, as blind as
 “ Bayard, barkest at the moon, like an old miller’s
 “ dog when he begins to doat. But I know well
 “ that thy barking, however loud thou liest, will not
 “ diminish this saint, who lived and taught so truth-
 “ fully.” After several pages of general abuse, the
 apologist of the friars returns to the questions of the
 reformer. He justifies the number and diversity of
 the religious orders by alleging the various orders
 of angels in heaven, and he proceeds to give an ex-
 planation of the former, which was certainly not
 calculated to satisfy one of the reformers. His own
 order, he says, was that of Christ, who taught
 obedience, chastity, and poverty. “ Nay,” is the reply,
 “ there is hardly an individual in thy order who can
 “ boast of possessing these three virtues, in regard
 “ to which ye rather follow Antichrist than our
 “ Lord Jesus. As to chastity of body, ye break it
 “ continually; and ye have no chastity of soul, for
 “ ye forsake Christ your spouse, and are become
 “ apostates from his church. In respect to true
 “ poverty, ye are the most covetous men in the
 “ world, for what with simony, and with begging,
 “ and with selling absolutions, you plunder both
 “ great and small.” Daw alleges further, that
 Christ ordained two manners of life, the one con- *

Vices of
the friars.

templative, the other active, to the former of which the monks belonged, while the latter was represented by the friars. He represents their begging ■ the collect-^{ing} of alms, and refuses to tell what they themselves gave to the poor, on the plea that charity should be exercised in secret. He defends the richness of the cloth worn by the friars, and explains the different parts of the costume symbolically, retaliating upon his opponent by sneering at the Lollards for affecting to dress in plain grey, which, he pretends, was intended to imply simplicity, while the wearers were ravenous wolves in Christ's fold. Others of the peculiar observances of the friars are explained in much the same manner, or defended in general terms, mixed with a large amount of abusive language addressed to the Lollards; to which his opponent replies with not much more temper, and utters a prophecy, not unlike that which has been so often ^{of the} remarked in the older poem of *Piers Ploughman*; the friars ^{downfall of} "and yet," he says, "the time shall come when Josiah ^{the friars} shall reign, and make an end of such fiends, and ^{and mo-} restore Christ's rule," ^{nastic} ^{orders}

The friars were celebrated for the splendour of their conventual buildings, and this circumstance furnished a never-failing ground of attack to the reformers. It is one to which both the advocate and the opponent recur; and the former finds a rather singular reply to the charge of lavishing money on these great

¹ The passage in *Piers Ploughman* is ■ follows :-

"Ac ther shal come a kyng,
" and confesse yow religiousen,
" and bete yow as the Bible
" telleth
" for brekyng of yowre rule;
" and amende monyals,
" monkes and chunons,

" and puten to his pennance
" ad pristinum statum ire.

" And thanne shal the abbot of
" Abyngdone,
" and al his issue for evere,
" have a knock of ■ kyng,
" and incurable the wounde."

Piers Ploughman, p. 202.

The splend-
id build-
ings de-
fended.

Hostility
of the friars
to the
parish
priests.

edifices instead of expending it in charity to the poor. "Jack," he says, "is not a man better than a rude beast? Yet you"—of course, addressing him in his assumed character of the uplandman or ploughman—"make a shed for your sheep, and a stable for your horse; and meanwhile there is many a man who has no roof over him, but the open air only is his house, and the beasts stand covered. Why dost thou not house the poor man as well as thy beasts?" The reformer finds a ready answer to this "monkey's argument," as he calls it, by which, he says, it might be proved that "he that drinks a quart of wine, must needs drink a gallon. But I grudge no reasonable house; and, though you speak scornfully of it, I have a sheep-house, for which I have better warrant in God's law than you have for your Cain's castle. I thank God, I built it with honestly gotten goods; but you built yours with the produce of begging, contention, and robbery." It is curious enough that the friar here—for there can be no doubt that it was the *bonâ fide* composition of one of the order who chose to encounter the popular preacher on his own ground—not only uses arguments which are in general very easily demolished, but he loses few occasions of displaying a feeling of spiteful hostility, which is known from other sources to have existed, towards other orders of the Romish clergy. In an earlier part of his writing, when accused of selling the sacraments, he attempts to throw this charge upon the parish priests; and now, in reply to the charge of farming out the country in districts to the limitors, he asserts that this was not done by the regular friars, but suggests that it was probably done by the pardoners, and the friars of some less regular orders. The clergy claimed a general exemption from secular taxes, and, when reproached with the example of Christ, who caused his disciples

to pay the tribute to the emperor, our Daw T pretends that the Saviour did not do this as a duty, but merely as a matter of policy, that it might not be made a charge against him in his trial before Pilate. At length we come to the grand charge of kidnapping the children of people of property in order to bring them up in their order, with a view, of course, to future profit. The existence of this practice is notorious, for it was a subject of complaint not only with the Lollards, but with the commons assembled in parliament, who proposed an act forbidding the reception into the orders of friars of any men under twenty-one years of age; but the king, ruled by his fear of the clergy, gave only a partial assent; and it was enacted that in future no boy under the age of fourteen should be received into an order. Daw Topias, therefore, does not attempt to deny the fact, but he justifies it in rather a singular manner by the example of Christ. "Thou accusest us," he says, "of felony, for stealing children to draw them to our sects. I hold it no theft to draw people towards God, unless you call Christ a thief, who did the same, saying to the rich man (Matt. xix. 21): 'Go and sell thy goods, and give them to the poor, if thou wilt be perfect; and afterwards follow me, and be my disciple.' And, in the same gospel, see what he saith also (Luke xiv. 26): 'Whoso forsaketh not his father and his mother, his son and his daughter, his sister and his brother, his land and his tenements, and himself also, he is not worthy to be my follower.' And again he said to his twelve chosen (John xv. 16): 'Behold, from the world I have chosen you all, that ye go and bear fruit, and your fruit may remain.' And thus to plunder the world, and spoil it of its subjects, it is no robbery, but theft approved by Christ." In regard to the keeping of prisons by the clergy, Daw Topias argues that they

Kidnap-
ping of
children.Defended
by the
friars.

Right of
the clergy
to keep
prisons and
hold courts.

have the same right to have prisons as the secular authorities. For, he says, if we take the Gospel literally, neither emperor nor king would have the right to imprison or put to death, but only to reprimand offenders, and then set them at liberty; whereby murderers, robbers, and all kinds of malefactors would go unpunished. The pope, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops in general had, he says, their prisons, with the king's permission; and it would be a bold thing to pretend that this was contrary to God's law. But his opponent replies that the two cases were very different, that the sentences and punishments of the bishops were arbitrary and unjust, and generally directed against the innocent; whereas the king caused the law to be executed by judges who were bound to administer justice with impartiality, "as he did now" lately, when he hanged you traitors." Some friars had been hanged for treason in the course of the year 1401.

The remainder of this very curious poem is chiefly occupied with a defence of the various means by which the friars obtained money, and of the use they made of it. Daw Topias justifies the style of preaching of the friars, and the character of their sermons, which had become a subject of ridicule to the reformers, by urging that the means are justified by the end; and that if the people were taught the right faith, it mattered not how they were instructed in it. On the other hand, he accuses the Wycliffites of having conspired to destroy Christ's church and turn it to idolatry; and adds that he considers it more "wholesome" to pursue a heretic to prison, or to the fire, than even to consecrate a church. In answer to the charge of selling the sacraments, he pretends that the friars administered them freely, and that they also received freely the offerings of those who partook in them, and argues that there was no more simony

in being paid in this way, than in the payment of a certain annual salary to a parish priest for his exercise of the ministry. To which Jack Upland replies sneeringly, comparing the friars to tapsters, or inn-keepers, who, instead of beer, "tap" out and serve their absolutions from Rome, and their preachings, prayers, and burials, to the deluded people. The begging of the friars is justified as a literal imitation of the example of Christ, who did not disdain to obtain his sustenance in this manner, and by the favour shown by the Saviour to mendicants; and here the popular advocate of Romanism, believing that his display of learning might betray his assumption of the character of a "lewd" friar, pretends that he had learnt to speak Latin when he was once a manciple, or servant employed in collecting the provisions, at Merton Hall, in Oxford. Another practice which had been ridiculed, that of writing in their books the names of those who give them money, or in other words making lists of benefactors, is justified on the ground that such lists were not made to remind God of those who had done good actions, but to assist their own memory as to those for whom they were bound to pray, inasmuch as, according to the opinion of the clergy, such special prayer was most conducive to the salvation of the souls of those for whom they prayed, a position which of course the reformers in a great measure denied. The practice of going about preaching in couples, when the apostles only went singly, is again explained symbolically, as Daw pretends that they went partly to bear one another company, "but more for the mystery contained in the "number"—for the law was written on *two* tables, and there were *two* cherubim in the temple, and *two* in the tabernacle. Jack replies that they did not adhere strictly to the symbol in this case, but that they sometimes went three together, one of the two

Replies to
other
charges.

being of the other sex; for the immorality of the friars is constantly insisted upon.

In regard to the complaints of the increase in the number of friars, who were made "against God's will," and the comparison with the hand and its fingers, Topias alleges that it would apply equally, and even in a greater degree, to the priests, who are again sneered at and represented as being more numerous and more burdensome to the people than the friars. Moreover, he proceeds to argue: "You say that God made all things in measure, weight, and number, and you cannot deny that every friar is something, and yet you assert that friars are made against God's will; thus you pretend that God hath made something which he would not make, so that his sovereign goodness is contrarious to himself." Jack Upland replies to this notable argument: "Though God made all things in measure and weight, it does not follow that he made you, for ye are out of measure, and so the devil and Cain and Judas are your fathers." The apologist of the friars remarks, with more reason, in regard to the hand, that nature had determined the number of its fingers, and if that number were passed, it was looked upon as a monstrosity; but that God or holy church had fixed no definite number of priests or friars. The question relating to Christ's presence in the sacrament is brought forward last, and becomes the ground for a good deal of personal reproach, with which both the poem itself and the reply to it close.

ON THE
EXECU-
TION OF
ARCH-
BISHOP
SCROPE.

The resentment of the Wycliffite party, no doubt, told against the house of Lancaster in the turbulent reign of Henry VI., and raised a strong prejudice against the memory of Henry IV. in the minds of the older protestant historians, while the latter monarch gained but a partial advantage by his yielding policy towards the church, for the clergy

took an active part in nearly all the treasonable conspiracies of his reign. The plot for murdering the king, at the beginning of his reign, was arranged in the lodgings of the abbot of Westminster, where the conspirators held their secret meetings. In the spring of 1401 several priests and friars were, as we have seen before, executed as traitors, some, as was presented, having likewise plotted to murder the king. In the year following the friars appear to have been especially active in spreading abroad the report that king Richard was still alive, and that he was preparing to make an effort for the recovery of his kingdom, and some of them suffered the penalties of treason. They encouraged the same reports two years later, on the occasion of Serlo's rebellion, and some of the higher clergy had been compromised in the great insurrection of the Percies. Among these stood conspicuous the archbishop of York, Richard Scrope, or Le Scrope, who still claimed the title of primate of England. In 1405, this prelate, in conjunction with Thomas de Mowbray, earl marshal, the son of one of Richard the Second's great favourites, but at this time little more than a boy, placed himself at the head of a considerable armed force, and raised the standard of rebellion at Shipton-on-the-Moor. The insurrection was soon suppressed, and the archbishop and his youthful ally fell into the hands of the king, his friends said, through the treachery of the earl of Westmoreland, and they were immediately tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, being the first instance in this country of the execution of a prelate of the church by the sentence of a lay court. These proceedings, as it is well known, provoked a feeling of great indignation among the clergy, and the Latin ballad on the occasion, here printed, is evidently a clerical composition. It expresses the grief which must be felt by the church in general on so great an

Hostility of
the clergy
to the
government.

event, and points out the circumstance that the execution of archbishop Richard occurred on the same day as the martyrdom of archbishop St. William, who died, as the Romish church which canonised him pretended, by poison, on the 8th of June 1154. This Latin ballad complains of the haste and unfairness of archbishop Scrope's trial, without any regard to his rank as a peer, or to his quality as a dignitary of the church who claimed exemption from lay jurisdiction; and tells how the sentence was passed in his own episcopal palace at Bishopsthorpe, and how he was led to the place of execution (between that place and York) on a mare (which was regarded as disgraceful), without a saddle, and with a halter instead of a bridle. The archbishop there encouraged the young earl to submit courageously to his fate, and then bowed himself to the sword. The virtues of the martyred primate are dwelt upon with great earnestness, and his sanctity is insisted upon. The writer then laments the other victims who perished on account of this rising, and tells how his palace was plundered, how his body was buried without the decencies becoming his station, and no attention was paid to the poor, to his creditors, or to his household. Even the common people of York were punished with him, and were subjected to unbearable exactions. Not only did York, he says, suffer, but the kingdom was deprived of its noblest chiefs, and the army was denuded of its choicest warriors; and the ballad concludes with the expression of regret for the good old times which were passed. The clergy, indeed, pretended that archbishop Scrope was a holy martyr, encouraged the belief that miracles were performed at his tomb, which became a place of pilgrimage to the disaffected, and went so far as to declare that it was in punishment for his enormous sin in putting to death the archbishop of York, that Henry was struck with a loath-

some disease, said to be the leprosy, which shortened his days.

We find no more political poems of this reign, unless we reckon under that head Oeeleve's Poem, *De Regimine Principum*, of which an edition has been recently printed by the Roxburghe Club; but the death of Henry IV. is commemorated in a curious little Latin poem by a now rather well-known writer of that period. Two works by Thomas de Elmham have been published recently, but neither of the editors appears to have been aware of the existence of the poem on the death of Henry IV., which is printed in the present volume. Elmham was in the first place a Benedictine monk of Chatterbury, and subsequently entered the Cistercian order, and became prior of Lenton, in the county of Nottingham. He evidently held some position at court under Henry IV., and the poem here printed seems to have been composed no long time after the death of that monarch; but the object of the writer is not very evident. In the prefatory verses, which the rubric seems to intimate were written after Elmham became prior of Lenton, it is addressed to Henry V., who is exhorted to attend to the domestic happiness of his kingdom, as well as to the prosecution of his foreign wars. Elmham warns the king (not unprophecically) of the fleeting and uncertain character of human life, and urges him to consult the welfare of his own soul by correcting errors in his government, which are not very clearly intimated. He tells him that he would weep if he knew the true feelings of his subjects, to all whom his coming home was a subject of sorrow, while his departure from his country was looked upon with joy. In explanation of this he intimates that when the king was at home in his kingdom a host of overbearing warriors and chiefs, and their greedy followers, committed all sorts of violence and oppression, from which his subjects were released when he carried

POEM OF
THOMAS
DE ELM-
HAM.

the oppressors away to the wars. In time of war, he says, the priest and the monk, the merchant and the cultivator of the land, received protection, and why should they not be protected in time of peace. Elmham reminds him of the fate of king Richard, and of the shortness of his father's reign, whose example, however, he recommends him to follow. These introductory lines are followed by a series of supposed exhortations addressed by king Henry IV. to his eldest son on his personal conduct, and on the government of the kingdom, which is called in the rubric a "letter," composed by the king when dying. This, differing in this respect from the introductory lines, is a curious specimen of the pedantic and obscure style of writing in which Thomas de Elmham indulged. In the conclusion the king is made to give his blessing to prince Henry, and to his three other sons, Thomas (duke of Clarence), John (duke of Bedford), and Humphrey (duke of Gloucester). The dying king is then introduced offering his thanks to heaven for the favours which he had received thence during his life. This is followed by a brief account of his death, which occurred, we are told, on St. Cuthbert's day (the 20th of March), in the year 1412, meaning, according to our present calculation, 1413. But this account is particularly interesting, as containing the only contemporary notice of a story, probably legendary in great part, which made much noise in after times, chiefly from the way in which it has been used by Shakespeare. It seems probable that Henry IV. entertained at some period of his reign a notion of entering into a crusade against the Turks—the language of Gower, in the poems printed in the present volume, would lead us to suppose that such designs had been talked of. According to the ordinary story, some one endued with the spirit of prophecy had told him that he would die in Jerusalem; and when suddenly struck with his last

Story of
the Bethlehem
Chamber.

illness in Westminster Abbey, and carried thence into what was called the Jerusalem Chamber, on being told the name of the apartment, he recognized the fulfilment of the prophecy, and prepared for death. But as told by Elmham, the story is more simple and less wonderful. He informs us that a false prophecy had been current during his life that he would take the cross, and win the Holy Land; and that by an unforeseen occurrence he unwittingly gained admission to the Holy Land by being carried when dying into the Bethlehem (not the Jerusalem) Chamber in Westminster. In the latter part of this poem Elmham has given his own name, as well as those of the king and queen, in acrostics. Its exact aim is not very clear, but it shows that the domestic policy of Henry V. was not altogether popular.

We have no other poems on the domestic affairs of England under the reign of Henry V., but Henry's foreign wars appear to have been celebrated in a considerable number of contemporary poems and ballads. The short and simple song which carried the tidings of the victory of Azincourt through the towns and villages of England is preserved with the music to which it was chanted in a manuscript of the Pepysian Library in Cambridge, from which it was printed in bishop Percy's "Reliques," and, I believe, in a still more interesting form among the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, in the same University. The expedition into France, which was crowned by this great victory, is related in a very detailed manner in a much longer poem in the ballad form, which also was evidently intended to be sung or chanted about the country, and which, preserved in a manuscript in the Harleian Collection in the library of the British Museum, was printed not very correctly by Sir Harris Nicolas, in his "History of the Battle of Agincourt."

• Another poem of some length, written by one who

Poems on
the Wars
of Henry
V.

ON THE
BATTLE OF
AZINCOURT.

was present at the events he relates, gives a circumstantial and most interesting account of the siege of Rouen in 1418-19. There is no early complete copy of it known, but the first and larger part of it is found in an imperfect manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and was published very inaccurately by Professor Conybeare, in the twenty-first volume of the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. It was subsequently discovered that the author of one of the continuations of the *English Past Chronicle* had used this poem as the material for his account of the siege of Rouen, and, after going on for some time paraphrasing it, had at last copied the text verbatim, thus preserving the whole of the latter part of the poem which was wanting in the Oxford manuscript. This supplementary text was edited from two manuscripts in the British Museum by Sir Frederic Madden in a subsequent volume of the *Archæologia*. A complete copy of the whole has since been met with in a manuscript in Balliol College, Oxford, containing a collection of pieces, chiefly in verse, made at the close of the fifteenth century by a citizen of London named Hill, which is, of course, of too late a date to be of much value as a text. The manner in which the latter part of this poem was preserved is of particular interest, as showing how much the narratives of events given by our old chroniclers were founded upon the ballads of the time, and upon other such popular materials. Another very curious example will be found in a shorter ballad or song on the battle of Azincourt, printed from a manuscript in the British Museum, in the present volume. The compiler of a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, chronicle of London has taken his account of the battle of Azincourt entirely from this ballad, turning the first part of it into prose, in which, however, the lines and rhymes of the original may still be traced, but transcribing the latter part of,

it without any alteration. It is a plain straightforward account of the battle, without any poetical embellishment. A Latin epigram on this same battle completes the number of our poems and songs of the French wars of King Henry V. They are followed in the present volume by another Latin epigram, in two parts, in the first of which the Frenchman reproaches the Englishman with the injuries he had inflicted on France, to which, in the second part, the Englishman replies. Even these short epigrams throw light on the feelings by which the contending parties were actuated.

EPICRAM
ON THE
BATTLE OF
AZINCOURT.
THE
FRENCH-
MAN TO
THE EN-
GLISHMAN.

The next short piece included in the present collection, consisting of a few lines of Latin verse composed by a Lollard, and a parody upon them by a churchman in reply, are curious only as illustrating the bitterness of the hostile feeling between the Romanists and the church reformers. Each charges the other with crimes which were to be sufficiently punished only by the sword or the faggot. It has been said that the clergy encouraged Henry in his warlike plans, in order that his attention might be taken away from the religious persecution they were carrying on against a numerous portion of his subjects, which they supposed might have received a check from his sentiments of patriotism, or from the interference of the lay aristocracy; and the support he received from the clergy led him to pursue in regard to the church the policy which had been adopted by his father. He was not, however, destined to enjoy long the military glory which he had gained. In the December of the year 1419 was concluded the treaty of Troyes, by which the crown of France was confirmed to the king of England; and it was ratified in the spring of the year following by the English parliament. Henry V. died on the 31st of August 1422. A few Latin verses, here printed from a

ON THE
LOLLARDS.

Treaty of
Troyes.

ON THE
DEATH OF
HENRY V.

manuscript in the Bodleian Library, were probably written immediately after Henry's death, and seem to picture the feelings of the moment when the great warrior king had died so suddenly and so prematurely, and left his kingdom and his conquests to an infant less than a year old. The writer begins by boasting of the glory of the treaty of Troyes, and declaiming on the great qualities of the departed monarch. By his death, he says, the English were filled with sorrow and their enemies with joy, for the smiles of fortune in war, it was feared, would desert the former and pass over to the latter. The apprehension is intimated that Henry's queen, Catherine of France, would be guided by her partiality for her native land, and the young king, as he grew up, might be educated by her in French sentiments. Gloomy anticipations are the subject of a few concluding lines in prose, but expressed more mysteriously even than in the verse. These lines convey no distinct evidence of their dates, but the closing paragraphs seem to intimate that they were written before the death of the queen's father, Charles VI.

EPIGRAM
ON THE AS-
SUMPTION
OF THE
ARMS OF
FRANCE.

This latter event took place in the month of October, 1422, upon which the young king of England, Henry VI, became, by the terms of the treaty of Troyes, king of France, and he was proclaimed accordingly. But a counter-demonstration was made at the same time by the friends of the dauphin, who had been disinherited by the treaty, but who was, nevertheless, proclaimed king in Auvergne, where he had sought a refuge, and crowned subsequently at Poitiers as Charles VII. These rival claims are the subject of an epigram printed here from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in which the claim of the French heir and the answer of the English heir are duly set forth, but which otherwise has no great importance. This question of inheritance continued to be

debated, the more so as the English affairs in France, neglected by the home government, began to decline. A Frenchman named Laurence Calot, who was clerk of the council to the regent Bedford, had been employed by that prince to draw up in French verse a genealogical statement showing the superiority of the claims of the king of England over those of the dauphin, considering it as merely a question of legitimacy, in order that the nature of these claims might be made familiar to all who were capable of understanding the French language. It appears, however, to have been considered necessary that this justification of the English claims should be made known to the English also; and in the year 1426, while the duke of Bedford was absent in England, occupied in pacifying the troubles already displaying themselves in the English court, the earl of Warwick, who had been left in Paris as his lieutenant, employed the well-known poet, John Lydgate, monk of Bury, who was then in the French capital, to translate Calot's composition into English verse. Warwick had just then returned from a successful expedition into Maine against the duke of Brittany. Lydgate states in his prologue that the object of this composition was to "set troubled hearts
"at rest," and put a stop to the talk of "many
"folkes," who disputed or threw doubts upon the legiti-
macy of king Henry's claims. Henry VI. was then, he
tells us, nearly five years of age. In the text of the
poem itself we are reminded of the great troubles
which had been caused by the disputed claims to the
French crown, that is, of course, by the resistance to
the claims of the king of England, in punishment for
which the English seem to have thought that God
had visited France with all its domestic misery;
and of the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Jean-
sans-Peur, at Montereau, by the duke of Orleans,
now Charles VII., but of whom the English still

John Lyd-
gate.
ON THE
ENGLISH
TITLE TO
THE
CROWN OF
FRANCE.

only spoke by his old title. The latter, he says, had by this traitorous and sanguinary deed rendered himself incapable of "succeeding to any dignity of knightly honour," and much more, therefore, "to reign in any land," and he in consequence had abandoned his claims by his own oath and under his own seal. In consideration of all this, and to put an end to the troubles of France, God had provided a young heir to the crown of France in the person of Henry VI. of England, whose right could not be disputed. He then proceeds to declare how Henry, as eighth in direct descent from St. Louis, was the nearest heir to the French throne, and how his right was allowed and confirmed by the treaty of Troyes. In conclusion, Lydgate specifies in an affected style of learning, then fashionable among poets, the day on which he concluded this "translation," which was the 28th of July 1426; and he adds a roundel in praise of the infant prince.

TO KING
HENRY VI.
ON HIS CO-
RONATION.

Somewhat more than three years after this, on the 6th of November 1429, Henry, who was then only nine years of age, was crowned in England, and a poem on his coronation, the style of which seems to show that it also was composed by Lydgate, urges again the claim of the young king to the inheritance of the two crowns, as being the direct descendant on one side of St. Edward, and on the other of St. Louis.

ON THE CO-
RONATION
OF HENRY
VI.

A second poem, on the same occasion, gives a more particular account of the ceremony, the solemnity and splendour of which seem to have produced a great impression on contemporaries, and they are described at length by the London chronicler Fabian. Our rhymester tells ■ of the display of mitred bishops and abbots who attended at the coronation, among whom were two archbishops and a cardinal (Beaufort). After the coronation the king and his great courtiers went in • procession to the hall of Westminster, preceded by

three dukes carrying the three swords, that of mercy, that of estate, and that of empire. The King was led by two bishops and six earls; his "pall" was borne by the Cinque Ports, and the earl of Warwick carried his train. Then followed in order the barons of the land, the judges, the knights of shires, and the city of London. At the feast which followed, the young king sat at the head table, having cardinal Beaufort on his right hand and the chancellor (Kemp, bishop of London,) on his left. The archbishop of Rheims sat at the same table; while, on the right side, the earl of Huntingdon knelt, holding the sceptre; and, on the left, the earl of Stafford, holding the sword of state. The earls of Norfolk and Salisbury were on horseback, the first as lord marshal, the other as constable in the place of the duke of Bedford. The Cinque Ports occupied a table on the right hand; another table was occupied by the prelates of the church, bishops and abbots; and at a table on the other side sat the representatives of the city of London. "Many other lords" occupied different tables. When the king and his lords were thus seated, the hereditary champion, Philip Dymnok, rode into the hall in complete armour, and publicly challenged all who had anything to say against the right of Henry VI. to the two crowns.

Henry was again crowned in Paris on the 17th of December 1430, and on the 21st of February 1432, on his return to England, he made his ceremonious entry into the city of London, an event commemorated in a poem by Lydgate, which has been printed in the collection of Lydgate's Minor Poems, edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society. Lydgate tells us how, after a succession of gloomy mist and rain, the weather suddenly became bright and smiling for the reception of the young king. The lord mayor, clad in red velvet, the sheriffs and aldermen in scarlet furred clothes, all well horsed, went forth to meet the king.

Henry
crowned in
Paris.
His return
to London.

at Blackheath. They were followed by the citizens in their liveries, and by the foreign merchants in the following order :—Genoese, Florentines, Venetians, and Easterlings. The king was conducted in great state to London Bridge, where the pageantry began. A giant with a drawn sword stood at the entrance to the bridge, and other devices followed. Similar pageants were erected at different points in the line of the royal procession, which are rather minutely described. At St. Paul's the king dismounted from his horse, and was received by the archbishop, a number of bishops, and the clergy of the church; and he was thence accompanied, as before, by the mayor and citizens to Westminster, where he was received into the minster by the abbot and his monks. Lydgate addresses his description of the splendid pageantry exhibited on this occasion to the lord mayor of London and the citizens.

Defection
of the duke
of Bur-
gundy.

The next event which produced a strong political excitement was the defection of the duke of Burgundy from the English alliance. After the failure of Philippe-le-Bon in his attempts to effect a peace between England and France in 1435, and the death of the duke of Bedford, that prince allowed himself to be persuaded by the French party, and, after extorting very considerable concessions from Charles VII., he abandoned his alliance with England, and became reconciled with the king of France. The news of this event were received in England with such furious indignation, that the populace of London rose and plundered the foreign merchants who came from his dominions. At the beginning of March 1436 the duke of Burgundy declared war against England, and made no secret of his intention to wrest from the crown of this country its old conquest of Calais, which he laid claim to as belonging to his own county of Artois, and which he seems to have looked upon as

an easy enterprise, encouraged, no doubt, by a mistaken estimate of the weakness and discouragement of the English at this moment. His subjects, and the men of Ghent especially, embarked in this enterprise with great zeal, and the siege of Calais ^{Siege of Calais.} began on the 19th of July 1436. The result is well known; the Flemings abandoned the siege early in August, and the duke of Gloucester, who arrived with reinforcements from England, invaded the dominions of the duke of Burgundy almost without resistance, burnt several towns, and returned to Calais laden with plunder.

We gather from the allusions in contemporary historians that these events caused not only great indignation, but great exultation in England, and that they were the subject of many popular songs and ballads, most of which, unfortunately, have perished. One of these, copied into a contemporary manuscript in the Sloane collection in the British Museum, but left imperfect by the transcriber, is a song on duke Philippe, composed, perhaps, if we may judge from the first lines, after the siege of Calais and the invasion ^{ON THE DUK OF BURGUNDY.} of his dominions by the duke of Gloucester, when he was unable to take the field against the English.

Duke Philippe is accused of falsehood, of being a public disturber of the peace, and of cowardice, and is challenged to come into the field and fight in defence of his character. The writer of the song reminds him of the kindness which he had experienced from Henry V., and of the assistance which in his own distress he had received from the English; of the murder of his father at Montrean; how he had sworn allegiance under Henry V. to the crown of England; and how, through the duke of Bedford, he had renewed his fealty on the coronation of Henry VI. at Paris.

Another short but curious piece, in Latin verse, ^{PHILIPPUS DUK OF BURGUNDY AND JAMES OF SCOTLAND.} alludes to some communication between the duke of Burgundy and the king of Scotland, which appears to

have provoked considerable indignation in England, but which is not noticed in our histories. It also has probably some reference to the siege of Calais, as Philip is introduced boasting to James of his irresistible power in reducing fortresses. It is little more than a string of reproaches, directed especially against the duke of Burgundy.

Satire on
the Flem-
ings.

A chronicle of England, preserved in a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, speaking of the satirical ballads composed by the English on the failure of the duke of Burgundy's attempt upon Calais, has inserted one in his narrative as a sample. It was copied from the manuscript, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Benjamin Williams, and is printed in the thirty-third volume of the *Archæologia*. The writer begins by jeering the Flemings on their expectation of conquering Calais, and he reminds them of their great exploits on "the first day," when the gail of Mortaign, with a party of the garrison of Calais, carried away their plunder openly in view of the town of Cravelines, although the townsmen sallied out upon them as fierce as "lions of Cotswood," which was in England a burlesque name for sheep. After ridiculing their dress and arms, he tells how the men of Cravelines fell upon the English with much fury; but how they left three hundred of their men dead, and the rest were glad to gain a refuge within their own walls, while the English continued their way without further interference. The Flemings are reminded how they came before Calais with a hundred and fifty thousand men, when the garrison of Calais were so much afraid of them that they left their gates open; and how they brought ships filled with stones to block up their harbour, which the English broke up and carried off at low water. They are reminded of Goby, the water-bailiff's dog, which "skirmished" with them

twice at sea, and many times on the sands. The men of Bruges are reminded how they came out one afternoon to give battle on the plain of St. Pierre, and how many of them were carried into Calais, "tied fast by the fist." The men of Gaunt are reminded how their bulwark was captured, and how they fled from the siege, leaving their ordnance behind them. The Picards fared no better, and behaved just as disgracefully as the others. A song on the siege of Calais, printed in the present volume from a manuscript in the British Museum, is written in much the same tone, but is considerably longer. After a commencement, much in the style of the old English metrical romances of chivalry, as though intended to usher in some notable exploits, we are told how the duke of Burgundy, in his great pride, had made a great assemblage of his power and chivalry from Flanders, Brabant, Burgundy, Picardy, Hainault, and Holland, to the number of more than a hundred thousand men, to make war upon Calais. Their great preparations for the siege are described in the same mock-heroic style; and we are told that, among other things, they had brought nine thousand cocks to crow in the night, and eight thousand cressets to give them light. In Calais, meanwhile, the earl of Mortaign, Sir John Rateliff, lieutenant of the town, and the baron of Dudley, who commanded the castle, made valiantly their preparations for defence, and did everything to encourage the defenders. The Lord Camois had the charge of Boulogne-gate, and Sir John Aston and Sir Geoffrey "Warbulton" of Milk-gate, but the gates themselves were kept continually open, as an act of defiance to the besiegers. Nevertheless, the soldiers, burgesses, and merchants of Calais posted themselves on the ramparts and in every position in which they could do good service in fighting; and even the women assisted by carrying

ON THE
SIEGE OF
CALAIS.

stones and other missiles to the men on the ramparts, and preparing boiling cauldrons, in case of assault, "all hot to give drink" to the assailants. The duke threatened the south-west corner of the town, and shot "many a great stone" into the place, but without doing much damage; and the French and Flemings were finally obliged to retreat to their camp, closely pursued. The exploits of an fishman in this pursuit are especially commemorated, as furnishing "a sportful sight;" and the courage of the water-bailiff's dog appears to have furnished matter of especial exultation; he is here said to have played "heigh-go-bye" in every skirmish, and to have spared neither man nor horse. One Thursday the earl of Mortaign fought the Flemings at St. Pierre, in the plain, drove them to their tents, and brought into Calais many prisoners. Next day came the duke's navy, with the "bulged ships," to block up the harbour, but this stratagem failed, and his "castle" was soon afterwards taken and destroyed. Next day, after this mishap, the duke fled with the men of Ghent, and was followed by those of Bruges and Ypres. "Little knows the fool," says the songster in conclusion, "who might choose, what harm it were to "the crown of England good Calais to lose."

THE LIBEL
OF ENGLISH
POLICY.

The danger of Calais, indeed, seems to have created as much alarm in England as the defeat of the besiegers gave joy, and not only the chance of losing it, but the great importance of England's maritime policy, began more and more to occupy people's minds. It was in the middle of the political agitation of this period, apparently soon after the defeat of the Flemings before Calais, that a writer, whose name is unknown, but who was evidently very intimately acquainted with the commercial affairs of the time, published the remarkable poem entitled "The Libel of "English Policy." The author was a friend of one of

the great warriors and statesmen of the day, Walter baron Hungerford, to whom he showed his book, and whose warm approval of it he received before it was published; and he seems also to have enjoyed the favour of cardinal Beaufort, and to have been intimate with the other great lords of the court. He quotes, as his authorities for facts he states, on one occasion the earl of Ormond, on another, "a good squier in time of parliament," who in one of the manuscripts is called Hampton, and at another a merchant named Master Richard Barnot. The grand political principle of this writer is that England's power lay on the sea more than on the land, and that she might make her commercial and maritime influence so great as to be able to impose peace on the nations of western Europe. He considers the importance of Calais as an English possession to consist in giving to England the undisputed command of the straits. When, in the year 1416, the emperor Sigismund visited England, to endeavour to effect a peace between Henry V. and the king of France, he had been especially struck with the importance of Calais in this point of view, and advised the king to value the two cities, Calais and Dover, as the two eyes of his maritime power. Taking this anecdote as his text, the author shows how, as the straits of Dover were at that time the only passage for the commerce of western Europe, of which Flanders was the chief mart, England, having the power to forbid the passage and put a stop to the commerce, could compel the countries whose wealth arose from that commerce to keep the peace with her in their own interests. This had been the policy of Edward III. and of Henry V., but now, under Henry VI., it had been neglected, and the English began to be despised by foreign nations. The English coin called the noble, he says, first issued by Edward III., was significant of this.

policy, because it bore on one side the king and a sword, and on the other a ship, intimating especially maritime power; but now, he says, the courage and influence of the English on the sea had fallen so low, that the Bretons, Flemings, and others, punning upon the word, said that the English ought to take the ship from their noble and put a pusillanimous sheep in its place. With this introduction, he proceeds to examine, in a most curious and interesting manner, the commercial relations of England with the continental states.

Commerce
of Spain
and Flanders ;

The principal exports of Spain at this time were figs, raisins, the wine called bastard, liquorice, oil of Soville, grain, Castile soap, wax, iron, a coarse cloth called wadmotte, the skins or leather of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver. These were shipped to the port of Sluys, for the great commercial mart of Bruges, and in return the Spanish merchants carried home the fine cloths manufactured in the Low Countries. Here, then, we are told were two ways in which the influence of England might be exerted on Flanders and Spain. In the first place, if she shut up the passage of the straits, the trade between the two countries would be stopped entirely. In the second place, although the English weavers had not yet learnt the art of making fine cloths themselves, yet the English wools were so much superior to those of every other country, that the Flemings could not make fine cloths without them; and if England stopped the exportation of her wools, the manufacturers of Flanders would be utterly ruined. Flanders, therefore, could not permanently be at war with England without the entire ruin of her population, and that would ruin equally the commerce of Spain, so that peace with England would be absolutely necessary to both. It is true that wool was also one of the great articles of Spanish produce, but not only were the Spaniards

obliged to carry their wool to Flanders to be made into cloth, but it was in itself of so poor a quality, that it was good for little unless mixed with English wool. The Flemings could not live without this foreign trade, of which their country was a sort of central and general mart; for the agricultural produce of Flanders in a year was not sufficient to keep its population alive one month. The commercial intercourse of Portugal between England and Portugal was very intimate and friendly. The chief exports of Portugal were wine of different kinds, oil, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordewain (or shoe-leather), dates, salt, and hides. They, however, like the others, were not to be allowed to pass through the straits freely in time of war; for the duke of Burgundy seems to have been considered as the arbiter of the wars in western Europe at this time; and it is assumed that, by stopping all commerce with Flanders in time of war, either by foes or friends, England would compel that prince to be her ally. The commerce of Britany also was of some importance, consisting chiefly in salt, wines and fine linen cloth known by the name of crested-cloth, and canvas, but it was carried on principally through Flanders, and might, therefore, be easily stopped if England were master of the sea. But the Breton navigators, and especially those of St. Malo were notorious at this time for their piracies, and had little claim upon English sympathies, for they had not only plundered our merchant shipping at sea, but they landed unawares on our coasts, and burnt and plundered the coast towns with impunity. Former kings had taken energetic measures against such insults, and an anecdote is told of the maritime policy of Edward III., in whose time the piratical propensities of the Bretons were equally notorious. Edward and the duke of Britanny were at war, but a peace having at last been concluded, the English merchants

Edward
III. and
the Breton
pirates.

repaired to Britany, expecting the due protection given to the ships of friendly states, but, to their dismay, they were attacked by the Breton navy, and taken and plundered as in time of war. King Edward, we are told, loved his merchants, and he expostulated with the duke of Britany, who, in reply, alleged somewhat deccitfully that the people of Mont St. Michel and St. Malo were disobedient subjects, and that he could neither restrain them nor be answerable for them. Edward said no more, but enabled the three towns of Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Pokey to fortify themselves, and to send their sailors to make war upon the Breton rovers. They not only defeated these at sea, but they landed in Britany, and committed such ravages that the duke was now obliged to complain, and, as he received an answer similar to that which he had before given, he found himself placed under the necessity of acting with honesty, and he undertook to put a stop in future to the depredations of all his subjects. In proof of the case of Edward III. for the interests of his English merchants, we are told that he passed a statute for the Lombards, compelling them to discharge the merchandise they brought, and charge that which they were to take, within forty days. The importance of this regulation is alluded to afterwards.

Commerce
of Scot-
land ;

The exports of the Scots were chiefly fells, or skins, hides, and wool-fleeces, which were carried to Flanders, and the Scottish merchants carried home mercery, haberdashery, cart-wheels, and barrows. The chief marts of the Scots in Flanders were Bello and Popering, which had been recently burnt in the invasion by the duke of Gloucester. Scotland would herself be greatly distressed if England, master of the sea, held a check upon her navigation. From the Germans of Prussia and the Easterlings the Flemings derived their beer, which was one of their great articles of con-

of the Ger-
mans and
Easter-
lings ;

sumption. The author of this poem takes the occasion of making some rather coarse satirical remarks on the drunken habits of the Flemings, on their cowardly conduct before Calais, and on the punishment they received from the duke of Gloucester. The articles of commerce brought from Germany to the marts of Flanders were very numerous, and comprised, among other things, beer and bacon, a preparation of iron known by the name of osmond, copper, steel, bow-staves, wax, poultry-ware, or skins of wild animals, grey (badgers' fur), pitch, tar, boards, flax, thread of Cologne, fustian, canvas, card-board, buckram, silver plate, and wedges of silver and other metal. The German merchants carried back woollen cloth, and they ventured to the "Bay" in search of salt, so that they too would be affected either by our stopping this branch of commerce at sea, or by our cutting off the supply of fine wool to Flanders. The Italian merchants followed rather a different course of traffic. The Genoese, for instance, came to England with great carracks, laden with cloths of gold, silks, black pepper, woad, and woad-ashes, wool, oil, cotton, rock-alum, and "gold of Genoa." They took from England the English wools, but instead of carrying them home, they conveyed them to the markets of Flanders, and carried on a second traffic there. The Venetians and Florentines brought to England what our writer calls "things of complacence," meaning mere articles of luxury, under which head are included spicery and grocers' ware, with sweet wines, apes and marmosets (or monkeys), and what he calls "niffes and trifles," things which "blere the eye," and are of no substantial use or profit to the buyers. These merchants also brought in their galleys the foreign drugs which were used in medicinal receipts, which our author thinks might easily be dispensed with, as he suspects that our good English medicinal plants were more efficacious remedies.

Indeed, he was evidently of opinion that the commerce with Italy was rather injurious than otherwise, for, in exchange for wares which were of no substantial use, they carried away some of our most valuable commodities, such as cloth, wool, and tin, which we might keep with more advantage at home. Moreover, there was so great a balance in their favour, through our foolish love for these luxuries, that they carried away our money as well as our merchandise. He complains, too, that these Italian merchants followed a system of trading which was as dishonest as it was injurious to our interests. For instance, they obtained the wool and other materials in England on credit, going to Cotswold and other districts where they were produced to buy them up at first hand, and then carried them to Flanders, where they sold them for ready money at a loss of as much as five per cent. on their purchase. This money they lent out on heavy usury, and thus realized a considerable profit out of the money before the term at which they were obliged to pay their debts in England. Practices like these, we are assured, were commonly resorted to, and were very injurious to honest English trade, to remedy which it was desirable that the old law should be resorted to, and that they should be compelled to discharge their merchandize and complete their transactions within forty days. Our author intimates that by thus allowing so much of our commerce to be carried on in foreign bottoms, we had allowed our navy to decline until we were no longer in a condition to repel foreign invasion. In illustration of this part of his subject, he tells us how Denmark, by neglecting her merchants and merchant navy, had fallen entirely from her former prosperity; and he introduces incidentally a few words in praise of the great London merchant, then not very long dead, Richard Whittington, "thrice lord mayor of London." Our writer

complains further, that the indulgence given in England to foreign merchants was not reciprocated to English merchants in other countries. Thus Englishmen, trading to Brabant, were compelled to dispose of their merchandise in fourteen days, and to take within the same space of fourteen days their return cargo, on pain of forfeiting all they had. Nevertheless, it was commonly reported that the English merchants were the great supports of the marts of Brabant, which were frequented by most nations, and that if the English absented themselves the trade would be "full feeble."

The merchandise derived from Brabant consisted chiefly of madder and woad for dyers, garlic, onions, and salt fish; while the Dutch procured through Brabant from Calais our skins and wools. This commerce of Brabant was carried on, from Hainault, Burgundy, France, and other parts, by land-carriage, and not by sea; yet, though we had thus not the same means of interrupting it, our merchants were the great support of it, and could always exert a serious influence over it. As an example of the remissness of England in exerting the influence which thus naturally belonged to her, he speaks of the ravages committed on our commerce at that time by the arch-pirate Haikin Lyons, who was suffered to rob on the sea with impunity. The Lombards, he assures us, were themselves a sufficient injury to this land, without any others, and he complains that they obtained impunity by means of gifts and presents bestowed on those in power. It is intimated, somewhat obscurely, that the Lombards promoted secretly the depredations of the sea-rovers, and that people in power connived at them from interested motives.

Ireland was rich in products of various kinds, and among the articles of commerce derived thence the author enumerates hides and fish, especially salmon, Ireland, and the necessity of conquering it.

hake, and herrings, Irish linen and woollen clothes, a rough cloth called sadding, the furs of martens, the hides of deer and other animals of the chase, skins of the otter, squirrel, Irish hare, sheep, lambs, and foxes, as well ■ of kids and rabbits in great plenty. With such numerous and valuable articles of merchandise, the author argues that there must be a community of interests between Ireland and England, and that the Irish ought to assist us in keeping the command of the sea, which they were bound to do, seeing that the king of England was by inheritance from his forefathers lord of Ireland. He speaks of the great havens and goodly bays of the sister island, such as that of Waterford, and many others, than which English merchants said that there were none better in the world for ships to ride in or for protection against enemies; of the great fertility of the soil; and, further, of its richness in gold and silver ore, which the "wild Irish" were unable to turn to account. A jeweller of London, who had brought gold ore from Ireland, had informed him that, when refined, he had obtained from it pure gold of the most excellent quality. He urges, therefore, that the English government should take care that Ireland were not lost by its negligence, for it was a "buttress and port" to support England, as Wales was another. "God forbid," he adds, "but they were all as brothers, and faithful in one allegiance to the king." He expresses, however, great fears that our power in Ireland was in imminent danger, and declares that it could not be lost without the ruin of England. At the same time he announces his intention of composing a separate book on Ireland and the English policy with regard to that country, which he either never wrote, or it is unfortunately lost. Our possessions in Ireland, he continues, were then so ineffectually defended, that the wild Irish had recently gained upon us as

much as two or three English shires, so that the English ground was but as a small corner compared with the rest. If this were lost, Wales must go too, and then both would become our enemies and form alliances with Scotland, Spain, and other countries, against us. The earl of Ormond had assured him that the expenses of one year in the wars in France, if properly employed, were sufficient to reduce the whole of Ireland to obedience within twelve months, and that the money would soon be repaid by the commercial advantages which would be derived from it. Wales also required to be watched with the utmost vigilance, if we would not leave it to be a cause of weeping to our children's children. Men who know the people were in continual apprehension of their rebellion.

The mariners of Scarborough had long been in the habit of visiting the "coasts cold" of the north, and had monopolized a trade in stockfish with Iceland, of which island this seem to have been the only export; but within twelve years before this treatise was written, that is, about the year 1424, the merchants of Bristol had found their way thither, "by needle and by stone," or, in other words, by the guidance of the mariner's compass, and had shared in this trade, and so many ships had visited Iceland during the season in which the author compiled his book that they could not obtain cargoes sufficient to clear their expenses.

Having thus described the products and commercial position of the different countries with which England was in relation, the author of the *Libel of English Policy* returns to the question of keeping possession of the passage of the straits. He dwells at some length on the importance of securing Calais, quoting the same lines which conclude the song we have printed on the siege of that town, which seem to have been then proverbial. He fears that the ears of men

then in power were not sufficiently open to warning, and laments over the losses of Harfleur and Rouen. In further proof of the care with which our wisest kings had provided for retaining the superiority over other nations on the sea, the story of king Edgar and his fleet is given from the old chronicles, and the writer quotes the examples of Edward III. and Henry V. King Edward, who won Calais, was able by the strength of his fleet to beleaguer it on all sides, by sea as well as by land; whereas the duke of Burgundy, in his late siege, had been obliged to leave it open to the sea, through the insufficiency of his naval force. As to Henry V., he says, what was the object of all the great ships he caused to be built at Southampton, so much larger than any of the ships of the merchant navy, such as the "Trinity," the "Grace," the "Holy Ghost," and others which are now lost? What was the king's intention with these but to make himself master of the sea? When Harfleur was attempted in his time, and the enemy brought a great fleet to attack it by sea, this fleet was destroyed by the English navy under the duke of Bedford. These reflections lead the writer into a warm eulogy of the greatness of character of the late king, Henry V. Had he lived, his great ships would not have been built in vain, but England would at this time have been undisputed mistress of the sea, instead of lamenting over the successive losses of his conquests. In conclusion, the lords of the king's council are urged to unite together in devising measures for the establishment of our supremacy on the sea, not only on account of the importance of that supremacy in a commercial point of view, but because it would prove the surest means of establishing an honourable and permanent peace with other countries. Such, in a brief abstract, is the poem entitled the "Label of English Policy," published at a very interesting period in

our national annals, and remarkable both for the sort of information it gives us, and for the political views entertained by its author.

At the moment when this poem was published, the personal dissensions were showing themselves at the English court, which afterwards took a more definite form, and inundated the kingdom with blood. The quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort had compelled the duke of Bedford to quit his government in France at a very critical moment, in order to return to England to pacify their feuds. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the fourth son of Henry IV., and now, since the death of the duke of Bedford, heir-apparent to the crown, was a great favourite of the people, and was called popularly the "good duke Humphrey." He had been appointed, under the regency of the duke of Bedford, protector of England during the king's minority. He had greatly embarrassed our foreign relations by an impolitic marriage with Jacqueline, countess of Holland, who was already married to the duke of Brabant, but, when the countess's second marriage was declared void by the pope, duke Humphrey married a lady who had already lived with him as his mistress, Eleanor, daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, to whom he appears to have been much attached. The timely relief of Calais in 1436, and the subsequent invasion of the territory of the duke of Burgundy, had increased the "good duke's" popularity, to the great disappointment of the party opposed to him, who looked forward eagerly to an opportunity of revenging themselves. Their vengeance was first wreaked upon his duchess, Eleanor, his marriage with whom had been a cause of considerable scandal. Duke Humphrey was a patron of literature, and especially of science; he was the founder of what was afterwards the Bodleian Library; and he maintained ■ intimate intercourse

with learned men. Among those whom he thus patronised was a clerk or ecclesiastic named Roger Bolingbroke, ■ man very learned in astronomy, or, as it was then called, astrology, and other sciences, who was permanently established in the duke's household as his chaplain. The ill-feeling between Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort had never really ceased, and it broke out with violence, in 1410, in a quarrel relating to the delivery of the duke of Orleans from his long imprisonment, in which Humfrey was obliged to yield.

Pretended
conspiracy
to bewitch
the king.

Soon after this an accusation was brought against his duchess of having employed witchcraft to compass the young king's death, and she and Roger Bolingbroke were placed under arrest. Three other persons were thrown into prison at the same time, as accomplices in the conspiracy, a priest and canon of Westminster, another priest, named John Hum, and a person named Margery Jourdain, better known as the witch of Ely. The duchess was examined before a council of the English prelates, in St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, on the charge of having had an image in wax made by these necromancers, as they were all judged to be, by which the king's death was to be effected. Dame Eleanor was an ambitious woman, and she, perhaps, superstitiously consulted some of these supposed magicians, to know how long the king would live, and whether she were destined to become queen of England; but the evidence against her seems to have been of a very unsubstantial character. Yet both she and her reputed accomplices were found guilty; and, while most of them were publicly executed, the duchess of Gloucester was condemned to a humiliating penance, and to imprisonment for life in the Isle of Man. The duchess Eleanor does not appear to have shared the popularity of her husband, yet her misfortunes can hardly have failed to excite some degree of public sympathy. The only monument of it with

which we are acquainted is the ballad printed in the present volume, which, though preserved in a manuscript perhaps written nearly half a century later, has all the appearance of a contemporary composition. The duchess is introduced lamenting over her fall, and ascribing it to her pride and vain-glory. She regrets her high estate, and the reverence she had once commanded, tells how she was carried before the council at Westminster, where the king himself was present to hear her case; and, though according to the law she had incurred sentence of death, and "some men sought to have it executed," he took pity on her, and prevented it. She was then examined before the two cardinals (Beaufort and Kempe), five bishops, and others of the spirituality, who, on her confession, enjoined her penance, in accordance with which she went barefoot through the principal streets of London. She takes her leave sorrowfully of London, of Greenwich (where the duke had a noble palace), and of other fair places "on 'Thames' side;" and of 'all her worldly wealth—her robes of damask and cloths of gold, and other rich dresses, her minstrels and music, and "all joy and lustiness." The duke of Gloucester is said to have borne this injury with patience, but his enemies were not pacified, and there were other persecutions in store for him.

There had been frequent rumours of negotiations for peace, and some vain attempts had been made to treat, for all became wearied by these long and costly wars, but the peace party was not altogether the popular one. The people, however they complained of the burdens of the war, felt too much the humiliation of the recent reverses to give up the hope of recovering the brilliant conquests of Henry V.; while the men who now directed the measures of the court, conscious of inability, and perhaps of neglect, dreaded the continuation of disasters, the effect of which was

LAMENT
OF THE
DUCHESS
OF GLOUCESTER.

Negotiations for peace.

ON THE
PROSPECT
OF PEACE.

ON THE
TRUCE OF
1444.

to make them every day personally more unpopular. Two poems by Iydgato, here printed, seem to have been intended to promote the feeling in favour of peace thus desired by the ministers. The first consists chiefly of a general eulogy of peace, and concludes in wishing for a speedy peace between England and France. The second is equally indefinite in its language, though it contains more general allusions to the condition of the country; it appears to have been written at the time of the truce with France in 1444, and it contains something like an intimation of distrust at the treaty then in agitation. The year following saw the conclusion of this treaty, and the marriage of the young king with Margaret of Anjou, whose favouritism and spirit of political intrigue hastened the crisis which the disputes and jealousies of the feudal aristocracy of England were already preparing. One of its first results was the death of the duke of Gloucester, while attending the parliament at Bury St. Edmund's, in 1446, under circumstances which justify a strong suspicion that he was murdered, and the popular party did not hesitate in laying the crime to the charge of the queen and her favourite Suffolk. Gloucester's old rival and opponent, cardinal Beaufort, followed him to the grave in 1447. The great chiefs who had continued to labour with some success in keeping together the remains of the English power in France were now nearly all dead or unemployed, and disasters followed one another in rapid succession in that country, and increased the exasperation of the popular party at home. Normandy was invaded, and Rouen, Caen, and the other places held by English garrisons in that duchy, fell into the hands of the French. Amid the agitation caused in England by these events, songs and poetry, as a means of promoting the general discontent and spreading the spirit of resistance to the government which was then

beginning to manifest itself, were used more largely, and assumed a bolder character. A few of these have been accidentally preserved, and afford extremely interesting illustrations of the history of the turbulent reign of Henry VI., though they are full of minute allusions which it would require very extensive research, and would, perhaps, now be hardly possible, to explain.

There is, among the charters in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, a roll of vellum, marked ii. 23, which has belonged to a partizan of the popular cause at the time of the proceedings against the duke of Suffolk and Cade's rebellion, that is, in the years 1450 and 1451. This individual, whoever he was, has copied into his roll a great variety of political matter, such as a copy of the articles against the duke of Suffolk, the written demands of the commons of Kent assembled under Jack Cade, lists of persons involved in some of the events of the time, the duke of York's declaration to the king, one or two rather long metrical prophecies, and interspersed with the others a few political songs, which are printed in the present volume. The earliest of these, which may be as old as the year 1449, is a sort of lament over the state of our foreign affairs. The writer tells with regret how the old warriors who had established our continental power were dead, and how the work they had raised was falling to pieces; how the king was led by courtiers who cared not for the interests of their country; and how the duke of York, who was now becoming the popular hero, had been obliged to retire into Ireland to consult his own safety. In these political troubles it was customary to speak of the leaders by their signs or badges, which were as well known — their names or titles, and which had the advantage of being more comprehensive, as they were worn by their followers, who were thus recognized at a glance. The song of

ON THE
POPULAR
DISCON-
TENT AT
THE DISAS-
TERS IN
FRANCE.

which I am speaking has a peculiar interest from the circumstance that, while the badges only are given in the text, an interlinear gloss in the manuscript has placed over them the name of the individual to whom each belongs. The next of these songs is a chant of joy on the committal of the duke of Suffolk, here designated as the fox, and as Jack Napes, the popular name for a monkey. Suffolk is accused of having "tied Talbot our dog," meaning, I presume, that he had designedly left him without the means of carrying on the war effectually. He is further charged with the murder of the duke of Gloucester; and it is recommended that his enemy, the earl of Salisbury, should be his confessor, and that he should be forthwith hanged at Tyburn. Some rather obscure lines at the end contain another allusion to the retreat of the duke of York to Ireland.

ON THE
ARREST OF
THE DUKE
OF SUFF.
FOLK.

ON BISHOP
BOOTH.

The third of the songs from the Cottonian Roll is directed against the unpopular prelate, bishop Booth, who had been promoted entirely by court favour during the time that Suffolk was the favourite. William Booth had been originally a jurist, but he subsequently embraced the clerical profession, and in 1447 obtained the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield. The first Norman bishop of Litchfield had removed the see to Chester, and hence, although his successor carried it back (or, at least, took it to Coventry, from whence it was half restored to Litchfield), it continued long to be popularly called the bishopric of Chester. In these popular songs Booth is always called bishop of Chester, and he is spoken of by that title in documents of a more serious character.¹ In this song

¹ As in the following list of unpopular persons "endited" at Rochester, which is given in the same Cottonian Roll, ii. 23, from which these songs are taken:—

"These ben the namys that were enditede at Rowecestre afore the cardynalle of Yорke, bysshope of Canturbury, and the duke of Bokyngham, etc., in the feate of the

Booth is accused of having obtained his bishopric by simony; and the writer of it seems also to charge him with ignorance, for he tells him to leave "practising on the privy of prince's power," to follow the plough, or to become a carter. The bishop is charged with usury, as well as simony, and of paying little attention to his clerical duties. The covetousness of men in power, he says, was the ruin of ancient Rome, and such was likely to be the case in England also. The bishop is spoken of in this song as an old man, suffering from palsy, and as nevertheless sacrificing his duties to his personal interest, in "praying for

Assumpcion of our lady and (?)
festo Laurencii, anno r. r. Henrici
xxix^o:

Johan Sutton de Duddesley in
com. Stafford, alias dictus
Johan Sutton miles de Lon-
done, 2.

Johan Trevelyane, nuper de Lon-
done, armiger, 2.

Johan Say, nuper de Londone,
armiger, 2.

Allica de la Poole, nuper uxor
Willelmi Poole ducis Suffolcie,
nuper de Newelme in comitatu
Oxon., 2.

Johannes Polsforde, nuper de
London., armiger, 2.

Thomas Kent, de London., gen-
tyllman, alias dictus T. K.
clericus consilii domini regis, 2.

Johan Penyeole, nuper de Lon-
don., armiger.

Thomas Hoo, de Hastyng in
comitatu Sussex., miles, of, 2.

Reginaldus abbas Sancti Petri
Gloucestrie, of, 2.

Jacobus Flynys, dominus de
Say, j.

T. Stanley, miles, of, j.

Edmundus Hongurforde, of, j.

Willelmus Minors, armiger, j.

Edmundus Hampdene, miles, j.

John Halle, armiger, j.

Thomas Danielle, armiger, j.

Thomas Thorppe, gentilmann, j.

Johan Blakeney, gentilmann, j.

Dominus Johannes Fforstokow, of,
j. miles.

Johannes Gargrave, j.

Walter Harde, episcopus Nor-
wic., j.

Richardus Wodvile, dominus de
Ryveia, j.

Robertus Manselde, armiger, j.

Maister Johan Somers, j.

Edwardus Grymstone, armiger, j.

Willelmus Booth, episcopus Ces-
tie, j.

Johannes Stanley, armiger, j.

Palmere.

Tressame.

Taumpage.

Gryswolde.

2. Hamptone esquiere, rest.

2. Hargrave in the Towre."

"the party that all the world cried out on." The voice of the oppressed, we are told, complained of the prince, "and of the priest eke," and he warns them of approaching vengeance. As an example of how little was gained by the givers of false judgments, he reminds him of the case of Trevilian. After some further reflections on the evil-doing and treasonable designs of the bishop's "sect," or party, and an appeal to God to guide the king better than he had been guided, and to rescue him from the influence of men like the earl of Suffolk, "and from all his foes," the writer of the song calls upon Bootho to bridle himself and not be too bold, and above all things to "cast away covetousness." In 1453 Bootho was further promoted to the archbishopric of York, and he died in 1464.

A WARN-
ING TO
KING
HENRY.

The next of these popular compositions is addressed to the lords of the court, and contains a warning for the king himself. The courtiers who ruled the king are called upon to restore the grants they had obtained from him, for they had reduced him to such poverty that he was obliged to "beg from door to door" through his tax-gatherers. The lord treasurer Say and Daniel are exhorted to set the first example of this good work. Untruth, oppression, and evil-doing prevailed throughout the land much more than the king knew; but vengeance was at hand. The "traitors" believed that they were too cunning to be caught, and that their opponents had not the power to punish them; but, says the writer, "we swear by him that harrowed hell that they shall remain no longer in their heresy and false belief." So poor a king and such rich nobles were never seen before; while the commons could support their burdens no longer, in spite of the resolution of the lord Say to tread them under foot. The earl of Suffolk had sold Normandy, and now sought to make the king take upon himself the blame of his treason. It

was evident that Suffolk was taking advantage of the king's innocence, and, unless the commons of England came to the assistance of their liege lord, that nobleman would usurp the crown. The king would do well to let these traitors no longer go loose, for they were all sworn to hold fast together. The writer concludes with a condemnation of the conduct of the late chancellor Wainflete, bishop of Winchester, and a strong assertion of the truth of what he states concerning the wrongs of the people. This is followed by a short but more direct attack on the duke of Suffolk; and those who support him are warned that, if they did not abandon him and seek popular favour, punishment would overtake them within three months.

The spirited ballad which follows, taken from another manuscript in the British Museum, has for its subject the death of the favourite, the duke of Suffolk. It commemorates the accident by which, in the pleasant month of May, Jack Napes, as the favourite is here termed, who had gone to sea to be a mariner, was arrested by death on the way; and how Nicholas, which was the name of the ship which stopped him, and was possibly taken by the writer for the name of a person (unless it were the name of the ship's commander), volunteered to be his confessor. The principal ecclesiastics and laymen are introduced taking different parts in the exequies of the deceased favourite. Among the ecclesiastics thus introduced are two who appear to have been especially unpopular, the bishops of Coventry and Litchfield (already mentioned) and of Norwich. It is worthy of remark that the latter is here called Walter Liard, instead of Walter Hart, which is the name by which he is known in all our lists of bishops. Nevertheless he is also undoubtedly named Liarde in the list of persons indicted at Rochester, given in the note on page lvii. of

VERSES
AGAINST
THE DUKE
OF SUFFOLK.

ON THE
DEATH OF
THE DUKE
OF SUFFOLK.

this Introduction. In some lists of the bishop of Norwich he is called Hart or Lo Hart.

ON THE
CORRUPTIONS OF
THE TIMES.

In the present volume these songs are followed by a few short poems, more general in their satire, most of which appear to have been written just before the civil wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. They are found scattered through contemporary manuscripts in different collections. The first of these complains in general terms of the absence of wisdom and truth from the state, and the prevalence of falsehood and guile. So completely was the just order of things overthrown, that, the writer says, it might be well said, that the blind man was guided by him who could not see, or, in the language of the time, "the bysom ledys the blynde," and this proverb is made the burden of the song. The writer complains, among many other griefs, that poor men were raised to be peers of the land, and that maintainers, or men who supported their dependants in doing wrong, and men ignorant of the laws, were made the dispensers of justice; that robbers and men who only looked to their private gain were established in the place of righteousness; that in the consistory courts the officials and deans sold their judgments for money; that friars, contrary to nature, were made confessors to the chief ladies of the land; that the prelates made a traffic of holy church, selling their pardons and absolutions; that the holiness which prevailed among them "came out of hell," and that the commons loved not the great. Sin thus reigned supreme, and it was to be feared that evils would fall upon the land such as those which had been brought by sin upon France and Flanders. The next of these pieces is similar to the other in purpose and tone. It professes to show "how mischance (or misfortune) reigns in England;" and in the same way ascribes it to the sins of all ranks and of all classes of society.

All this time the persecution of the Lollards continued, though we hear perhaps less of them in consequence of the preoccupation of men's minds with the political crisis. The first piece here given is curious AGAINST THE LOLLARDS. as being a ballad against the religious reformers, and belongs probably to the earlier part of the reign of Henry VI., or perhaps to that of Henry V. The writer pretends that, till lately, he did not know what "Lollards" were, but now that he did know it, he was astonished that anybody should be so unwise as to incur the risk of being burnt by meddling with questions which they did not understand. Above all things, he says, it was contrary to nature for a knight, whose business it was to defend castles for his king, to "babble" about the Bible day and night. It is hardly necessary to say that the allusion is to Sir John Oldcastle, the martyr, whose name was long a sort of watchword among the persecuted Wyclifites. The allusion becomes more pointed as we go on. It is not worth the wages, he continues, to remain with such a captain, who is but an "old castle," all in ruin, and who secretly laboured to raise tumults against the king and his clergy. After representing the Lollards as wolves who had introduced themselves treacherously among the sheep, he proceeds again with his punning sarcasm. The castle, he pretends, the walls of which were overthrown, was not fit for a king's residence, especially when the captain had fled, and forsaken bow and spear, in order to "creep from knighthood into clergy." "For I trow," he adds, "there is no knight alive who would have done so open a shame, for it is no gentleman's game to study or dispute in that craft." The writer calls for the execution of the law upon men who, he intimates, only sought riot and robbery under pretence of religious reform; and he blames their contempt for images, their want of reverence for the saints who

TO THE
KING.

A POLITI-
CAL PRO-
PHET.

AGAINST
THE
FRIARS.

ON THE
CORRUPT-
ION OF
PUBLIC
MANNERS.

had been canonized by the church, adding an allusion to some recent occurrence in Kent, where the Wycliffites had beheaded the image of St. James. In some rather obscure Latin rhyming verses, preserved in a contemporary manuscript belonging to the library of Merton College, Oxford, the king is called upon to protect the clergy against the attacks of the laity, and the people are blamed for their ingratitude towards their sovereign. A short metrical prophecy follows, which is more obscure in its English than the Latin verses which precede. We are informed that certain disastrous occurrences are to take place, and among them a battle on the banks of the Humber, "when
"Rome shall be removed into England, and every
"priest shall have the pope's power in hand." Another short poem, from a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, is written in alternate lines of English and Latin, and presents a very violent attack upon the friars. They are accused of leading people to hell, and of being themselves possessed by the seven mortal sins. They were, according to this account, false and deceitful, and extremely immoral, so that it was dangerous for a man who had wife or daughters to let them enter his house. No lord could afford to build such a house as these men, who pretended to live by begging, erected for themselves, so that you might imagine them to be coiners, and therefore traitors to the king. Another short English poem of the same age, after exclaiming against the extravagant apparel of the courtiers and "proud gallants," again attacks the church and the "pope-holy" priests, whose conduct was the reverse of their preaching, who obtained advancement by simony, and who were ■ proud and extravagant in dress as the courtiers. They are admonished to keep within their monasteries, instead of wandering about; and not to reprove other people till they set a better example themselves. If

they did their duty as they ought, they might restore peace to the land. Two or three shorter scraps in English verse may be classed under the head of epigrams. One makes love complain of being exiled by envy, and ascribes it to the long beards which people were hanging down to the breast. Another states that England had been ruined by extravagance in dress, great oaths, bribery, flatterers, and false deeds. A third describes England as in a state of universal contention, and says that the land contained much people of light consciences; many knights, who had little power; many laws, with little justice; many acts of parliament, and few of them properly kept; little charity, but much flattery; many a penniless gallant; great show of living, upon small wages; and many gentlemen, but few pages or servants. A few lines in Latin, on the same subject, follow.

ON THE
PUBLIC
EXTRAVAGANCE.

ON THE
TIMES.

When we return again to the poems on political events, we meet with an almost solitary example of a ballad, the subject and tone of which are of a more cheering character. The first battle of St. Alban's had been fought, and had added family feuds to the political divisions, and everything announced the approach of a sanguinary civil war. But suddenly an outward pacification was effected, and it was arranged that the great lords of the rival factions should mutually forgive each other, and that there should be a public reconciliation. This took place on the 25th of March 1458, when the king and queen and the reconciled chiefs walked in procession to St. Paul's to celebrate so joyful an event. The ballad here printed was written to celebrate this reconciliation. "Charity," it was believed (as we here learn), had at length driven wrath out of the land, and had paved the way for wealth and prosperity. The foreign enemies, who had rejoiced at our divisions, were now "quaking"

ON THE
PROCESSION
TO ST.
PAUL'S.

with fear at the report that peace at home had succeeded division. Sorrow had fled with shame into France, "as a felon that hath forsworn this land," and love had driven out "malicious governance." The great lords had laid aside their feuds, so that England might now enjoy concord and unity. The king and queen, and the great lords, went in friendly procession to St. Paul's on Lady-day, and showed to one another "lovely countenance," which France and Brittany would have cause to rue. It was the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester who had brought about this "love-day." The ballad ends with an eulogy of the city of London. The contending factions had now become those of York and Lancaster.

The songs
from the
Dublin ma-
nuscript.

A manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, of a few years' later date than the Cottonian roll, has, like it, a few very interesting political songs, which, with one from another MS. in the same library, were published by Sir Frederic Madden in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. They commence with the date of the public reconciliation just described. The first in date is the single song from the last-mentioned manuscript, where it is stated to have been written in the year 1458, and is the work of a Lancastrian partisan. Henry VI. is represented under the form of a ship, with the young prince Edward for a mast. The ship's light was a blazing cross, representing the duke of Exeter, and its strong stern was the duke of Somerset. The sail-yard was the earl of Pembroke, the stay the duke of Buckingham; and the shrouds consisted of the lords Devonshire, Grey, Beauchamp of Powik, and Seales. The earl of Northumberland, with Ros, Clifford, and Egremont, formed the sail; the earl of Shrewsbury was the top-mast; and the ship had three good anchors, the lords Beaumont, Wolles, and Rivers. St. George is appealed

to for protection for this stately ship. The other Dublin manuscript has belonged, most certainly, to a Yorkist, and it was evidently written during the years 1460 and 1461. The earliest of the songs contained in it, written about the month of May in the former year, gives a list of the Yorkist leaders, and enumerates their qualities. Another commemorates the battle of Northampton, fought on the 10th of July 1460, and appears to have been composed between that time and the month of September. The Yorkists were now again the victorious party, but intrigue was soon active against them, and another of these poems in the Dublin manuscript, composed in the month of December, is a warning to them to be on their guard. A song, printed in the same volume of the *Archæologia*, from a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, celebrates the entry of Edward IV. into London, at the beginning of March 1461. The last of the songs in the Dublin manuscript commemorates Edward's decisive victory at Towton.

To return to the poems printed in the present volume, the death of Richard duke of York, the hero of the earlier period of the wars of the roses, is here commemorated, and his titles and qualities and great actions enumerated, in an epitaph in French verse, stated to have been composed by "Chester the herald."

A Latin poem, composed by a rather well known monk of St. Alban's, John de Wothamstede (called sometimes in Latin *Johannes Frumentarius* or *de Loco Frumenti*), soon after the battle of Towton, in not very elegant Latin, gives an account of the previous civil wars as far, chiefly, as they concerned the town and abbey of St. Alban's, and the object of the writer seems to have been to protest against the predatory propensities of the northern troops who formed the army of Margaret of Anjou. He gives his name at the end under the affected concealment of puns, and informs that when

EPITAPH
FOR
RICHARD
DUKE OF
YORK.

ON THE
CIVIL
WARS.

it was written he was an aged man, and that he was both deaf and blind. His poem begins with an account of the first battle of St. Alban's, in which the Lancastrians were defeated, and their chiefs, the earl of Northumberland and the duke of Somerset, slain. The Lancastrians, the writer tells us, fled like children from the rod and many of them sought refuge in the abbey, and, in their terror, concealed themselves under the stalls of the church, or in any other hiding-places they could find. After the battle the victorious troops of the duke of York fell to plundering the town, and the monk who wrote these verses looks upon it as a miraculous intervention of his patron saint that the king, instead of flying to the abbey, sought refuge in a house in the middle of the town, and thus the abbey escaped plunder. A brief account of the battle of Wakefield, in which the duke of York was slain, follows, and we have then a description of the second battle of St. Alban's, in which the abbey was less fortunate. The monk speaks indignantly, and no doubt feelingly, of the barbarous conduct and rapacity of the northern troops, and narrates with evident joy the arrival and triumph of Edward, and the sanguinary punishment which he inflicted on the northern plunderers on Towton field. The poem concludes with a statement of Edward's claims to the English crown, and a comparison between him and the feeble monarch to whom he had succeeded.

A POLITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND LITERARY,

A poem, in English, written at the commencement of the reign of Edward IV., gives a sort of retrospect of the history of the Lancastrian dynasty, composed in a strongly Yorkist point of view. The author praises highly the prosperous reign of Richard II., and speaks of the base usurpation of Henry of Lancaster, who had dethroned "this righteous king, God's true knight," and thrown him into prison. "The blessed confessor," archbishop Scrope, took his death "full patiently" in

that quarrel. The "said Henry," for his tyranny and usurpation, was struck with leprosy, of which he died. The glory of his son, Henry V., was still too recent, and his name too popular, to allow of his being spoken of with disrespect; and, although he "reigned unrightfully," he had held up the honour of England. But no language was too strong to describe the bad qualities of his ill-fated son, and more especially of his consort queen Margaret, whose reign had been one of continuous misrule. In speaking of the sanguinary struggle which had paved the way of the house of York to the throne, and which had proved so fatal to the English nobility, the writer of this poem compares England to a garden which had been many years overgrown with weeds, and which required to be "mown down plain" before the "pleasant sweet herbs" could have a chance of growing. He quotes Edward's victories, and his constant good fortune, as an acknowledgment from heaven of his worthiness and right, and praises highly the earl of Warwick, "the loud-star of knight-hood, born of a stock that over shall be true."

Edward's fortune, however, was destined to change ON THE RECOVERY OF THE THRONE OF EDWARD IV. once, and Warwick's true-ness to be put to a trial in which it failed. The next poem in the present volume, a longer English poem than the preceding, commemorates Edward's return from exile in 1471 to recover his crown.

After at least warm praise of king Edward, the writer tells how, when he landed in Holderness, the people were unwilling to join him, and showed him unkindness. He, however, made his way to York in spite of his enemies, and when the people of that city had a sight of his person, "their malice was quenched," and they joined him. He proceeded thence to Pontefract, to the great chagrin of the marquis Montague, who durst not meet him. At Coventry

Edward was in want of meat, drink, and lodging for his army, yet he prepared to give battle to the earl of Warwick. He was here reconciled with his brother the duke of Clarence, but he remained long without being able to bring Warwick to fight, until "want of lodging and victual" obliged him to change his quarters, and he proceeded to London. At Daventry, a miracle—"an image which was closed" "brake open suddenly"—was manifested in the abbey as a token of victory. The citizens of London received him with great joy, and he there took prisoners "a king and a clerk." He went by water from London to Westminster, where he resumed the crown and sceptre, and offered his devotions at the shrine of St. Edward. The meeting between Edward and his queen and children was very tender, but he was soon called away to meet his enemies in the field. The night before the battle of Barnet witnessed another miraculous sign in Edward's favour, for a bright star was seen to shine over his head. The battle is described at some length, after which the king returned to London, where his presence was very desirable. The bastard Falconberg had collected a multitude of fighting men, with whom he plundered the country round, and attempted to force his way into the capital, but he was successfully resisted by the citizens at London Bridge, the outer gate of which was burnt by the assailants. In another assault they applied gunpowder, as well as fire, and destroyed all the buildings up to the drawbridge, but they could get no further. They also attacked Aldgate, and burnt fair houses there, but the earl of Essex and the aldermen, with the citizens, went out at Bishopsgate, and, falling upon them, put them to flight. The earl of Rivers, too, happening to be in London, did great service, and, placing himself at the head of the citizens, attacked the Kentish men, and defeated and pursued them with great slaughter.

After this defeat the Kentish men dispersed, while king Edward came to London with his forces. The duke of Gloucester, "that noble prince,"—"grace him " followeth, fortune, and good speed,"—with the earl of Pembroke, and the lord chamberlain and others, rode in the king's advanced guard of eight thousand men, and was joyfully received by the citizens. King Edward knighted eight aldermen on the field of battle. The king, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, followed with a smaller division of his army, and was received and welcomed by at least twenty thousand men. They rode through the city to St. Paul's, to offer up thanks for their success. The ballad ends with some lines in praise of Elizabeth, Edward's queen. It is rather curious that the author of this poem, who was evidently a contemporary, and probably a Londoner, should make the bastard Falconberg's attack upon London follow immediately after the battle of Barnet.

The last poem in the present collection is somewhat similar in subject to the Libel of English Policy, from which the first lines are taken, but it is much shorter. Like that poem, its theme is the supremacy which England ought to secure by her navy and commerce. There was no man, the writer says, of whatever degree, who had not absolute need of three things, meat, drink, and clothes. England, he said, possessed all these three articles in abundance, and of one there was a great superfluity, but the people neglected to make the most of this advantage. Other countries produced meat and drink for their inhabitants, but it was clear that they depended upon England for clothing, for merchants from them all came here to purchase either the raw material or the cloth that was made of it. The writer here gives a list of the countries which then traded with England, adding that there were doubtless many others with the names of which he was not

ON ENG-
LAND'S
COMMER-
CIAL
POLICY.

acquainted, for he conjectured that all the nations under heaven, whether Christian or heathen, had need of our English commodities. He recommends that none but wool of the worst quality should be exported; because, as the coarse cloth could only be sold at a low price, while the various processes of making the cloth were nearly as expensive as in the fine cloth, so the profit of this coarse cloth to the makers was very small. The next point to which this writer calls attention makes us acquainted with rather a curious fact. A custom had, he says, been recently introduced among merchants and cloth-makers, which was very unjust and oppressive to the poor workmen, whom they compelled to take half of their wages in merchandise. This plan further enabled the employers to cheat those they employed, by giving them merchandise at a nominal value, which was double its true worth, so that it was an indirect manner of considerably diminishing their wages. Thus, "the poor had the labour, and the rich the gain." The writer demands an ordinance, or act of parliament, to compel the employers to pay the wages of their workmen in money. This system of paying wages in goods seems to have prevailed very extensively, and is represented as not only creating much misery among the poor, but as being in many cases a disadvantage to the employers themselves, and generally to the country, as it prevented the development of the national industry. This, the writer tells us, was especially the case in the mines, and he proposes a rather singular remedy. He asks for the establishment of a mint near the mines, and an ordinance that all the silver brought up should, as soon as it was refined, be coined on the spot, and that the men should receive their pay in this newly-coined money before any of it was carried away. If this were the case, he says, people would be glad to work, and the number of workmen

would be increased tenfold, and necessarily the more workmen were employed in the mines the greater quantity of silver would be derived from them; thus the king himself, and through him the whole kingdom, would be enriched. In the same way, by making all the fine wools into cloth at home, and paying the workmen fairly, money would be brought into the country, and a great source of national wealth transferred from our enemies to ourselves. The suggestions contained in this poem furnish a very interesting illustration of the social condition of the English workman and of the state of English manufactures in the fifteenth century.

This is the last poem of a political character with which I am acquainted which comes within the limits of the present collection. It is hardly necessary to state that the texts in the present volume have been edited, from the original manuscripts, on the same principles which were observed in the former. It may perhaps, however, be right to state that the plan adopted in the first volume was to collect together all the songs and short poems of a political or historical character, belonging to the period, which have been preserved, whether they had been previously printed or not; but as it has been since decided that poems which have previously been printed in works generally known and easy of access, such as the *Archæologia*, should not be re-edited here, that plan has, to a certain degree, been abandoned in the second volume, and such only have been re-edited as have previously appeared in books less likely to be generally known. I have thought it well at the same time, to prevent any inquirers who may be using this book from overlooking poems which have been printed elsewhere, to notice in the present Introduction all those which have been omitted.

The Glossary of English words given at the end of

the volume has no further pretensions than to assist the reader in understanding the texts. The English poems belong to periods scattered over a century and a half; and they are just of that popular class which present the varying peculiarities of the language, and which contain a great number of words of a popular or trivial character, which perhaps only occur once in the writings with which we are acquainted, and to the exact meaning of which we have hardly any clue. It would be almost impossible, under such circumstances, to attempt anything like a systematic philological dictionary of the English language, as exhibited in these various examples; and I have contented myself with giving an index of the obsolete words or less intelligible forms, and explaining as many of them as I can.

POLITICAL POEMS.

VOL. II.

COMPLIMENTARY VERSES ON KING HENRY IV.¹

By John Gower

*Sequitur carmen unde magnificus rex noster Henricus
prenotatus apud Deum et homines cum omni
benedictione glorificatur*

Rex celi Deus et Dominus, qui tempora solus
Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit,
Qui rerum cursus ex se produxit, et unum
In se principium robur inesse dedit;
Qui dedit ut stabili motu cōsisteret orbis,^{*}
Fixus in æternum mobilitate sua,
Quicquid potens vobis produxit adesse creata,
Quicquid summo montis lego ligavit ex;
Ipso caput regum, reges quo rectificentur,
Pequo tuum regnum, rex pie, quæso regal
Grata impervenient te misit gratia nobis,
O sine labe salus, nulla par ante fuit.
Sic tunc adventus nova gaudia sponte reduxit,
Quo prius in luctu lachryma major erat
Nec tua militum pavidos relevavit ab imo,
Quos prius oppressit ponderis omne malum.
Ex probitate tua, quo mors latitabat in umbra
Vita resurrexit cluaque regna regit.

^{*} From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 166, 1^o. It is found in most of the manuscripts of Gower's Latin poems; and has here been collated with a copy in the MS. of Gower's poems in possession of the duke of Cumberland, now preserved at Trevelyan.

Sic tua coram sortem mediantem Deo renovatam
 Sanat et emendat, quo prius agra fuit.
 O pio rex, Christum per se laudamus, et ipsum
 Qui tibi nos tribuit terra reviva colit.
 Sancta sit illa dies, qua tu tibi regna petisti,
 Sanctus et ille Deus qui tibi regna dedit.
 Qui tibi prima tulit, confirmet regna saluta,
 Quo poteris magno magnus honore frui.
 Sit tibi progenies ita multiplicata per ovum,
 Quod genus inde pium replent omne solum.
 Quicquid in orbe boni fuerit tibi summus ab alto
 Donet, ut in terris rex in honore regas.
 Omne quod est turpe vacuum discedat, et omne
 Est quod honorificum det Deus esse tuum.
 Consilium nullum, pio rex, te tangat iniquum,
 In quibus occultum sit Deus esse dolium.
 Absit avaritia, ne tangat regia corda,
 Neque queat in terra proditor esse tua.
 Sic tua processus habeant sortem perennes,
 Quo recolant laudes saecula cuncta tuae.
 Nuper ut Augusti fuerant praecordia Romae,
 Concineat in gestis Anglia vota tuis.
 O tibi, rex, auro detur fortissimo nostro
 Semper honorata sceptrum tenero nummi.
 Stes ita magnanimus quod ubi tam regna gubernas,
 Terreat has partes hostem nulla manus.
 Augent imperium tibi Christus et augent annos,
 Protegat et nostras aucta corona foreas.
 Sit tibi pax finis, domito dominaris in orbe,
 Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis.
 Sic honor et virtus, laus, gloria, pariter, potestas,
 Tegno tuum regnum magnificare queant.
 Cordis amore boni, pio rex, mea vota paravi,
 Corpore cum nequii servo memento tibi.
 Ergo tuas laudibus tuo geniflexus honori
 Verba loco doni pauper habenda tuli
 Est tamen ista mei, pio rex, sententia verbi,
 Ut tui regni sint tibi regna poli.

II. aquila pullus quo nunquam gratior ullus,
 Hostes confregitque tyrannica colla subegit.
 II. aquila cepit oleum quo regna recepit,
 Sic veteri juncta stipiti nova stirps redit uncta.

*Epistola brevis unde virtutes regie morales ad sanum
 regimen ampliori memoria diriguntur.*

O recolende bone, pio rex Henrico, patrone, Ad bona dispono quos eripis a Pharaone. Noxia depone quibus est humus hanc in agone Regni personam quo vivant sub ratione. Pacem compone, vires moderare coronas, Legibus impone fravum sine conditione, Firmaque sermone jura tenore mono.	Nota de justitia.
Rex confirmatus licet undique magnificatus, Sub Christo gratus, vivas tamen immaculatus Est tibi prelatas, comes est hunc, villa, senatus, Miles et armatus, sub lege sua moderatus. Dirigo quosque status, munus quo pacificatus, Invidus, elatus, nec avarus erit sociatus. Sic oris ornatus, purus ad cuncta latus.	Nota de regimine.
Hinc ut amans quibit Gower, pie rex, tibi scribit; Quo pius ibit, ibi gratia nulla peribit, Qui bono describit, semet mala nulla subibit, Sed pius exhibit quo Dei pietate redibit. Sic qui transibit, opus et pietatis adibit, Illico Deus ascribit, quod ab hoste perire nequibit; Et sic finibit, quia pia vota bibit.	Nota de pietate.
Quanto regalis honor est tibi plus generalis, Tanto moralis virtus tibi sit specialis. Sit tibi carnalis in mundo regula qualis Est tibi mentalis in Christo spiritualis. Si fuerit talis, tua chronica perpetua Tunc erit aequalis perfecta quo materialis. Rex immortalis te regat absque malis.	Nota de contem- platione.

ADDRESS OF JOHN GOWER TO HENRY IV.¹

Electus Christi, pie rex Henrico, fuisti,
 Qui bene venisti cum propria regna potisti;
 Tu mala vicistique bonis bona restitisti,
 Et populo tristi nova gaudia contribulisti.
 Est mihi spes lata quod adhuc per te renovata
 Succedent fata veteri probitate beata.
 Est tibi nam grata gratia sponte data

O worthi noble kyng Henry the forthie,
 In whom the gladd fortune is befallie
 The poeple to govern upon erthe,
 God hath the chose in comfort of our alle,
 The worschipe of this lond, which was down falle,
 Now stant upriht thurgh grace of thi goodnesse,
 Which every man is holde for to blesse.

The high God, of his justice allone,
 The right which longeth to thi regalie
 Declared hath to stonde in thi persone;
 And more than God may no man justifie.
 Thi title is knowe upon thin ancestrie,
 The londes folk hath ok thy riht affermed;
 So stant thi regne, of God and man confermed.

Ther is no man mai soie in other wise
 That God him self no hath the riht declared,
 Whereof the lond is bound to thi servise,
 Which for defalte of help hath longe caved;
 But now ther is no mannes herte spared,
 To love and serve, and wircho thi plesance,
 And al is this thurgh Godes pourveiance.

¹ This poem — inserted in the old black-letter editions in folio of the collected works of Chaucer. It is here printed from a contemporary manuscript in the possession of his grace the duke of Sutherland.

In alle thing which is of God begonne,
Ther folwith grace, if it be wel governed ;
Thus tellen thei whiche olde bookes conne,
Whereof, my lord, y wot wel thou art lerned.
Axe of thi God, so schalt thou noght be werned
Of no request, which is resonable ;
Ffor God unto the goodo is favorable.

King Salomon, which hadde at his axingo
Of God what thing him was levest to crave,
He ches wisdom unto the governynge
Of Goddis folk, the whiche he wolde save,
And as he ches it fel him for to have ;
Ffor thurgh his wit, whil that his regne laste,
He gat him pes and reste unto the laste.

Bot Alisaundre, as telleth his histoire,
Unto the God besoghte in other weie,
Of all the world to wiane the victoire
So that undir his swerd it might oboie ;
In worre he hadde al that he wolde preie,
The myghti God behight him that beheste,
The world he wan, and had it of conqweste.

Bot thogh it fel at thilke time so,
That Alisaundre his axingo hath achieved,
This sinful world was al paiene tho,
Was non which hath the hihe God believed,
No wonder was thogh thilke world was grieved,
Thogh a tirant his pourpos mihte winne ;
Al was vengance and infortune of sinne.

Bot now the foith of Crist is come aplace
Among the princes in this orthe hiere,
It sit hem wel to do pité and grace ;
Bot 3it it not be tempred in manere ;
Ffor as thei finden cause in the matiere,
Upon the point, what afterward betide,
The lawe of rilit shal noght be leid aside.

So mai a kyng of werre the viage
 Ordeigne and take, as he therto is holde,
 To cleime and axe his rightful heritago
 In alle places wher it is withholde;
 Bot other wise if God him silve wolde
 Affirme love and pes betwen the kynges,
 Pes is the beste above alle ertlioly thinges.

Good is teshue werre, and natheles
 A kyng may make werre upon his right;
 Efor of bataille the final ende is pes.
 Thus stant the lawe, that a worthi knyght
 Upon his trouthe may go to the fight;
 Bot if so were that he myghte chose,
 Betre is the pees, of which may no man lose

To sterc peace oghte every man alyve,
 Efirst for to sette his liege lord in reste,
 And ek these othre men that thei no stryve,
 Efor so this world mai stonden alle beste.
 What kyng that wolde be the worthieste,
 The more he myghte oure dedly werre cesse,
 The more he schulde his worthinesss encrease.

Pes is the chief of al the worldes welthe,
 And to the heven it ledeth ek the voie;
 Pes is of soule and lif the mannes helthe
 Of pestilence, and doth the werre aweie.
 My liege lord, tak hiede of that y soie,
 If werre may be lefte, tak pes on honde,
 Which may not be withoute Goddis soude.

With pes stant every creature in reste;
 Withoute pes ther may no lif be glad;
 Above alle othre good pes is the beste;
 Pes hath him self when werre is al bestad;
 The pes is sauf, the werre is ever adrad;
 Pes is of al charitie the koie,
 Which hath the lif and soule for to voie.

My liege lord, if that the list to seeke
 The sothe ensamples that the werre hath wrought,
 Thou schalt wel here of wise mennes speche,
 That dedly werre turneth into noght
 For if these olde bokes be wel sought,
 Ther myght thou se what thing the werre hath do,
 Both of conqueste and conquerour also.

For vein honour, or for the worldes good,
 Thei that whilom the stronge werres made,
 Wher be thei now, bethenk wel in thi mod;
 The day is gone, the nyght is derk and fado,
 Her cruelté, which mad hem thanne glado,
 Thei sorwen now, and zit have noght the more;
 The blod is schad, which no man mai restore.

The werre is modir of the wronges alle;
 It sleth the prest in holi chirche at masse,
 Forlith the maide, and here flour tofalle;
 The werre maketh the grete citee lasse,
 And dothe the lawe his reules overpasse.
 There is no thing wherof meschef mai growe,
 Which is noght caused of the weire, I trowe.

The werre bringth in poverté at hise hieles,
 Wherof the comun poeple is sore grieved;
 The werre hath set his cart on thilke whieles,
 Wher that fortune mai noght be believed.
 For whan men wene best to have achieved,
 Fulle ofte it is al newe to beginne;
 The werre hath no thing siker, thogh he winne.

Forthi, my worthi prince, in Cristis halve
 As for a part, whos feith thou hast to guide,
 Leie to this olde sor ■ newe salve,
 And do the werre awei, what so betide;
 Pourchace pes, and sette it be thi side,
 And suffre noght thi poeple be devoured;
 So schal thi name ever after stonde honoured.

If eny man be now, or ever waa,
 Ajoin the pes thi prayd counseillour,
 Lete God been of thi counseil in this cas,
 And putte awei the cruel werreour.
 For God, which is of man the creatour,
 He wolde noght men slowe his creaturo,
 Withoute cause of dedly forfeiture.

Wher nedeth most, behoveth most to loke;
 Mi lord, how so thi werres ben withoute
 Of time passed, who than hiede loke,
 Good were at hom to so rihit wel aboute,
 For evermor the werste is for to doute;
 Bot if thou myghtest parfyt pes atteigne,
 Ther schulde be no cause for to ploigne.

Aboute a kyng good counseil is to proise,
 Above alle othre thinges most vailble;
 Bot zit a kyng withinne him self schal peise,
 And so the thinges that ben resonable;
 And theruppon he schal his wittes stable,
 Among the men to sette pes in evene,
 For love of him which is the kyng of hevenc.

Ha! wel is him that schelde never blod,
 Bot if it were in cause of rihitwisnesse.
 For if a kyng the peril undirstod,
 What is to sle the poeple, thanne y gesse
 The dedly werres and the hevynesse,
 Wherof the pes distourbid is ful ofte,
 Schulde at som time cesse and wexe softe.

O kyng, fulfilled of grace and of knyghthode,
 Remembre uppon this point for Cristes sake;
 If pes be profred unto thi manhode,
 Thin honour sauf, let it noght be forsake.
 Though thou the werres daist wel undirtake,
 After reson zit tempre thi corage,
 For lich to pes ther is non advantage.

My worthi lord, thenke wel how so befall
 Of thilke lore, as holi bokes seyn,
 Crist is the loved, and we ben membres alle,
 As wel the subjit as the sovereign;
 So sit it wel, that charité be plein,
 Which unto God him solve most accordeth,
 So as the lore of Cristes word recordeth.

In tholde lawe, er Crist him self was bore,
 Among the ten comandementz y rede
 How that manslaghtre schulde be forbore;
 Such was the wille that tyme of the Godhede;
 But aftirwards, whanne Crist tok his manhede,
 Pcs was the ferste thing he let do erie
 Azein the worldes rancour and envie.

And er Crist wente out of this erthe hieie,
 And stigh to hevenc, he made his testament,
 Wher he beqwath to his disciples there
 And gaf his pcs, which is the fundament
 Of charité, withouten whos assent
 The worldes pcs may never wel be tried,
 No love kept, no lawe justified.

The Jewes with the paiens harden were,
 Bot thei among hem self stode evere in pcs;
 Whi schulde thanneoure pcs stonde out of herre,
 Which Crist hath chose unto his ogline eneres?
 Iffor Crist is more than was Moises,
 And Crist hath sol the parfit of the lawe,
 The which scholde in no wise be withdrawe,

To give ous pcs was cause whi Crist dide,
 Withoute pcs may no thing stonde availed;
 Bot now a man mai sen on everi side,
 How Cristes foith is every dai assailed,
 With the paiens destrued, and so batailed
 That for defalte of help and of defence,
 Unethe hath Crist his dewe reverence.

The righte feith to kepe of holy chirehe,
 The firste point is named of knyghthode ;
 And everi man is holde for to wirehe
 Uppon the point which stant to his manhode.
 Bot now, helas ! the same is sprad so broode,
 That everi man this thing compleigneth,
 And zit ther is no man which help ordeigneth.

The worldes cause is waited over al,
 Ther ben the worres redi to the fulle,
 Bot Cristes oghne cause in special,
 Ther ben the swerdes and the spores dulle ;
 And with the sentence of the popes bulle,
 As for to do the folk païen obeie,
 The chirehe is turned al another weie.

It is to wonder above any mannys wit,
 Withoute worre how Cristes feith was wonne ;
 And wo that ben upon this erthe zit,
 No kepe it noght as it was first begonne.
 To every creature undir the sonne
 Crist had him self, how that wo schuldren preche,
 And to the folk his evangile teche.

More light it is to kepe than to make ;
 Bot that wo founden made tofore the hand
 We kepe noght, bot lete it lightly stakke.
 The pes of Crist hath al tobroke his bond ;
 We reste our selve, and sofferin every lond
 To slen eeh other, as thing undefendid ;
 So stant the werre, and pes is noght amendid.

Bot thogh the hewed of holy chirehe above
 No do not al his holo businessse
 Among the men to sette pes and love,
 These kynges oughten of here rightwissnesse
 Here oghne cause among hem self redresse ;
 Thogh Peters schip as now hath lost his stiere,
 It lith in hem that berge for to stiere.

If holy cherche after the dueté
 Of Cristes word no be noght al avysed
 To make pes, acord, and unité
 Among the kinges that ben now devised,
 Zit natheles the lawe stant assised
 Of mannys wit to be so resonable,
 Withoute that to stonde hem selve stable.

Of holy chirche we ben children alle,
 And every child is holden for to bowe
 Unto the modir, how that ever it falle,
 Or elles he mot reson desalowe.
 And for that cause ■ knyght schal forst avowe
 The right of holi chirche to defende,
 That no man schal the privilege offende.

Thus were it [good] to sotten al in evone,
 The worldes princes and the prelatz bothe,
 Ffor love of him which is the king of hevone;
 And if men scholde algate wexe wrothe,
 The Sarazins, which unto Crist be lothe,
 Let men ben armed azein hem to fighte,
 So mai the knight his dede of armes righte.

Upon thre pointz stant Cristes pes oppressed;
 Ffirst holy chirehe is in her silt divided,
 Which oughte of reson first to be redressed,
 Bot zit so highe a cause is noght decided.
 And thus whan humble pacience is prided,
 The remonaunt, which that thei schulden reule,
 No wonder is though it stonde out of reule.

Of that the heved is sick, the limes alken;
 These regnes that to Cristes pes belongen,
 Ffor worldes good these dedly werres maken,
 Which holiples as in balancé hongen.
 The heved above hem hath noght undirfongen
 To sette pes, bot every man sleeth other,
 And in this wise hath chaigé no brother.

The two defalties bringen in the thriddle,
 Of miscreantz, that son how we debate,
 Betwene the two thei fallen in middle,
 Whor now al dai thei finde an open gate,
 Lo, thus the dedly were stant algate;
 Bot evere y hope of king Henries grace,
 That he it is which schal the pes embrace.

My worthi noble prince and kyng enoight,
 Whom God hath of his grace so preserved,
 Beholde and so the world uppon this point,
 As for thi part, that Cristes pes be served;
 So schal thin highe mede be reserved
 To him which al schal qwiten ate laste,
 Ffor this life hieo mai no while laste.

See Alisandre, Hector, and Julius,
 See Machabeu, David, and Josué,
 See Charlemeine, Godefrqi, Arturus,
 Ffulfild of werre and of mortalité,
 Here same abit, bot al is vanité;
 Ffor deith, which hath the werres under fote,
 Hath made an end of which ther is no bote.

So mai a man the sothe wite and knowe,
 That pes is good for every man to have;
 The fortune of the werre is evere unknowe,
 Bot wher pes is, ther ben the marches save.
 That now is [up], to morwe is under grave,
 The mighti God hath alle grace in honde,
 Withouten him pes mai noght longe stonde.

Off the tenetx to winne or lese a chase,
 May no lif wite er that the bat be wonne;
 Al stant in God, what thing man schal pouchnce,
 Thende is in him er that it be begonne.
 Men sein the wolle, whanne it is wol sponne,
 Doth that the cloth is strong and profitable,
 And elles it mai never be durable.

The worldes chaunces uppon aventure
 Ben evere sott, bot thilke chaunce of pes
 Is so behoveli to the creature,
 That it above alle othre is pierles;
 Bot it mai noght begete natholes
 Among the men to lasten eny while,
 Bot wher the herte is plein withoute guile

The pes is as it were a sacrament
 Tofore the God, and schal with wordes pleine,
 Withouten eny double entendement
 Be treted, for the brouthe can noght feine;
 Bot if the man withinne hem self be veine,
 The substance of the pes may noght be trewe,
 Bot every dai it chaungeth uppon newe.

Bot who that is of charité perfit,
 He voideth alle sleighes farr aweie,
 And sett his word upon the same pit,
 Wher that his herte hath found a siker weie;
 And thus whan conscience is towly weie,
 And that the pes be handlid with the wise,
 It schal abide, and stonde in alle wise.

The apostle seith, ther mai no lif be good
 Which is noght grounded uppon charité,
 For charité no schedde nevere blod;
 So hath the werre as ther no propriété.
 For thilke vertu which is seid pité
 With charité so forforth is acquainted,
 That in here may no fals semblant be painted.

Cassodre, whos writinge is auctorized,
 Seith, wher that pité regneth ther is grace,
 Thurgh which the pes hath al his wolthe assised,
 So that of werre he dredeth no manace.
 Wher pité dwelleth in the same place
 Ther mai no dedly cruelté sojorne,
 Wherof that merci schulde his wei torne.

To so what pité forth with mercy doth,
 The cronique is at Rome in thilke empire
 Of Constantin, which is a tale soth;
 When him was lovero his oghne doth desire
 Than do the zonge children to martire,
 Of ernalte he laste the querele,
 Pité he wroghte, and pité was his hole.

For thilke mannes pité which he dede,
 God was pitous, and mad him hol at al;
 Silvestro can, and in the same stede
 Zal him baptisme first in special,
 Which dide awai the sinne original,
 And al his lepro it hath so purified
 That his pité for ever is magnified.

Pité was cause whi this emperour
 Was hol in bodi and in soule bothe;
 And Rome also was set in thilke honour
 Of Cristes feith, so that the lionc of lothe,
 Which hadden be with Crist tofore wrothe,
 Restained were unto Cristes lore;
 Thus schal pité be praised evermore.

My worthi liege lord, Henri be name,
 Which Engolond hast to governe and righte,
 Men oghlen wel thi pité to proclame,
 Which openliche in al the workles sighte
 Is showed, with the help of God almightie
 To zive ous pes, which longe hath be delected;
 Wherof thi pris schal nevere ben abated.

My lord, in whom hath ever zit be founde
 Pité, withoute spot of violouce,
 Kep thilke pes alwei withinne bounde
 Which God hath planted in thi conscience;
 So schal the cronique of thi pacience
 Among the schatz be take into memoire,
 To the loenge of perdurable gloire.

And to thin erthli pris, so as y can,
 Which everi man is holde to commende,
 I, Gower, which am al thi liege man,
 This lettre unto thin excellence y sende,
 As y which overo unto my lives ende
 Wol prais for the stat of thi persono,
 In worschipe of thi sceptre and of thi throne.

Noght only to my king of pes y write,
 Bot to these othre princes cristene alle,
 That ech of hem his oghne herto endite,
 And seso the werre er mor meschiefe falle.
 Sette ek the rightful pope upon his stalle,
 Kep charité, and draugh pité to honde,
 Maintene lawe, and so the pes schal stonde.

*Explicit carmen de pacis commendatione, quod ad
 laudem et memoriam serenissimi principis
 domini regis Henrici quarti suus humilis
 orator Johannes Gower composuit.*

Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus
 Quo mihi defecit visus ad acta mea.
 Omnia tempus habent, finem natura ministrat,
 Quem virtute sua frangere nemo potest.
 Ultra posse nihil quamvis mihi velle remansit,
 Amplius ut scribam non mihi posse manet.
 Dum potui scripsi, sed nunc, quia torva senectus
 Turbavit sensus, scripta relinquo scholis.
 Scribat qui veniet post me discretior alter,
 Amodo nanque manus et mea penna silent.
 Hoc tamen in fine verborum queso meorum,
 Prospera quod statuat regna futura Deus.

Explicit.

JACK UPLAND.¹

1401.

I, Jacke Upland, make my none to very God,
and to all true in Christ,
that Antichrist and his disciples,
by colour of holines,
walking and deceiving Christs church
by many false figures,

¹This violent attack on the filars by one of the Wycliffite party has been preserved by being inserted in the early printed black-letter folios of the works of Chaucer, from whence it is here printed. The old editor was quite ignorant of the fact that it was composed in alliterative verse, and either he, or some one from whom he had it, has altered it so much, with the view apparently of removing the obscurity which seems to a certain degree inseparable from this class of old English poetry, by using common words for obsolete ones, and adding words and phrases to explain the meaning, that much of the alliteration and rhythm is lost. I give it verbatim from this printed text, except that I have arranged it in lines as nearly as I can make them from a knowledge of the rhythm of this class of versification. A comparison with the alliterative poem which follows will enable us to restore a good deal of it to its original form. The poem alluded to is a reply by a filar to the attacks of Jack Upland, and this latter is accompanied by a rejoinder which

contains an allusion which enables us to fix the date of all three. The writer throws in the teeth of his opponent a recent act of justice of Henry IV, who had hanged certain traitorous friars:—

“And the kyng by his juges trewe
“execute his lawe,
“As he did now late,
“Whan he hanged 3on traytours.”

There can be no doubt that this refers to the event thus recorded in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, p. 278:—
“About the fest of Pentecost that
“same yere [May, 1401], certeyn
“mon whech had conspired the
“kyngis deth, &c. . . . a prest . . .
“was take at Ware The
“prest for his labours was hang and
“drawe. So was a chanon priour
“a Lawue, whech mite a lyved
“but for his tunge. So were cer-
“teyn religious men, and spechaly
“of the menours order, endited of
“treason and hanged.” It is most probable that all these poems were composed during the year 1401; the last in date of them must have been written very soon after the event just mentioned.

where through (by Antichrist and his) many vertues
been transposed to vices.

But the felliest folke
that ever Antichrist found,
been last brought into the church,
and in a woonder wise ;
for they been of diverse sects of Antichrist,
sown of diverse countries and kindreds.

And all men knowne well that
they bee not obedient to bishops,
ne leege men to kings ;
neither they tillen ne sowen,
weeden ne reapen,
wood, corn, ne grasse,
neither nothing that man should helpe,
but onely themselves,
their lives to susteine.

And these men han all manner power
of God, as they seyn,
in heaven and in yearth,
to sell heaven and hell
to whom that them liketh ;
and these wretches woet never
where to been themselves.
And therefore, freer, if thine order and rules
been grounded on Goddis law,
tell thou mee, Jacke Upland,
that I aske of thee,
and if thou be or thinkest to be on Christes side,
keepe thy paciens.

Saint Paule teacheth that all our deedes
should be do in charitie,
and els it is nought worth,
but displeasing to God,
and harne to oure soules.

And for that freers challenge
to be greatest clerkes of the church,

and next following Christ in living,
 men should for charitie
 ask them some questions,
 and pray them to ground their answers
 in reason and holy writ;
 for else their answer would nought be woorth,
 be it flourished never so faire,
 and, as me thinko, men might skilfully
 aske thus of a freer.

1. Freer, how many orders beo in earth?
 and which is the perfectest order?
 of what order art thou?
 who made thine order?
 what is thy rule?
 is there any perfecter rule
 than Christ himself made?
 If Christs rule be most perfect,
 why rulest thou thee not thereafter?
 Without more, why shal a freer
 be more punished,
 if he break the rule
 that his patron made,
 than if he break the hests
 that God himself made.

2. Approveth Christ any more religious
 than one that saint James speaketh of?
 If hee approveth no more,
 why hast thou left his rule,
 and takest another?
 Why is a freer apostata,
 that loveth his order,
 and taketh another sect,
 sith there is but one religion of Christ?

3. Why be ye wedded faster to your habits
 than a man is to his wife?
 For a man may leave his wife for a year or two,
 as many men dono;

and if you leave your habite ■ quarter of a yeare,
ye should be holden apostataes.

4. Maketh your habit you
men of religion or no?
If it doe, then ever as it weareth,
your religion weareth;
and after that your habit is better,
your religion is better;
and when yee have liggē it beside,
then lig ye your religion beside you,
and been apostataes.

Why buy ye you so precious clothes,
sith no man seeketh such,
but for vaine glorie,
as saint Gregorie sayth?
What betokeneth your great hood,
your scaplerie,
your knotted girdle,
and your wide cope?

5. Why use ye all one colour
more than other christiān men doe?
What betokeneth that ye been clothed
all in one manner clothing?
If yee say it betokeneth
love and charitie,
certes then ye be oft hypocrites,
when any of you hateth another,
and in that that ye wol be said holy
by your clothing.
Why may not a freer weare clothing
of another sect of freers,
sith holinesso stondeth not
in the cloths?

6. Why hold ye silence in one house
more than another,
sith men ought over all to speake the good
and leave the evill?

Why eat you flesh in one house
more than in another,
if your rule and your order be perfect,
and the patron that made it?

7. Why get ye your dispensations
to have it more easie?
Certes either it seemeth
that yee be unperfect,
or he that made it so hard,
that ye may not hold it.
And siker, if ye hold not
the rule of your patrons,
ye be not then her freers,
and so ye lie upon your selves.

8. Why make you as dede men,
when yee be professed,
and yet ye be not dede,
but more quicke beggars than you were before?
And it seemeth evil a dede man
to go about and beg.

9. Why will ye not suffer
your novices hear
your counceils in your chapter house,
ere that they have ben professed,
if your counceils been true
and after Gods law?

10. Why make yee so costly houses
to dwell in, sith Christ did not so,
and dede men should have but graves,
as falleth it to dede men?
And yet ye have more courts
than many lords of England;
for ye now wenden through the realme,
and ech night will lig
in your own courts,
and ■ now but right few lords doe.

11. Why heire you to ferme

your limitors,
 giving therefore each yeare
 a certain rent,
 and will not suffer one
 in anothers limitation,
 right as yee were your selves
 lords of countries?
 Why be ye not under your bishops visitations,
 and leego men to our king?
 Why aske ye no letters of bretherheads
 of other mens praiers,
 as ye desire that other men
 should aske letters of you?
 If your letters be good,
 why grant ye them not generally
 to all maner of men,
 for the more charitie?

12. Mowe ye make any man
 more perfect brother for your prayers,
 than God hath by our belcove,
 by our baptisme and his owne grant?
 If ye mow, certes,
 then ye be above God.
 Why make ye men beleve
 that your golden trentall sung of you,
 to take therefore ten shillings,
 or at least five shillings
 will bring soules out of hell,
 or out of purgatorie?
 If this be sooth, certes,
 yee might bring all soules out of paine;
 and that wol ye nought,
 and then ye be out of charitie.

13. Why make ye men beleve
 that he that is buried
 in your habit
 shal never come in hel,

and ye weet not of your selfe
 whether yee shall to hell or no?
 And if this were sooth,
 ye should sell your high houses
 to make many habites
 for to save many mens soules.

14. Why steal ye mens children
 for to make hem of your sect,
 sith that theft is against Gods hosts,
 and sith your sect is not perfect?
 Yee know not whether the rule that yee bind him to
 be best for him or worst.

15. Why undertenme yee not your brethren
 for their trespasses after the law of the gospell,
 sith that undertenning
 is the best that may be?
 But ye put them in prison oft,
 when they do after Gods law;
 and by saint Augustines rule,
 if any doe amisse,
 and would not amend him,
 ye should put him from you.

16. Why covet ye shrift and burying
 of other mens parishens,
 and none other sacrament
 that falleth to christian folke?
 Why busie ye not to heare
 to shrift of poore folke,
 as well as of rich,
 lordes and ladies,
 sith they now have more plentie
 of shrift-fathers than poore folke now?
 Why say ye not the gospel
 in houses of bedred men,
 as ye do in rich mens,
 that mowe goo to church and heare the gospell?
 Why covet you not to burie

poor folk among you,
sith that they been most holy,
as ye saine that ye ben for your povertie?

17. Why will ye not be at her diriges,
as ye have ben at rich mens,
sith God praiseth him more
than he doth other men?
What is thy prayer worth,
sith thou wilt take thorefore?
For all chapmen yee need to bee most wise
for dread of simonie.

What cause hast thou that thou wilt not preach the gospel,
as God saith that thou sholdst,
sith it is the best lore,
and also our beleewe?

Why be ye evill apaid
that secular priestes
should preach the gospell,
sith God himselfo hath boi'den hem?

18. Why hate ye the gospell to be preached,
sith ye be so much hold therto?
For ye win more by yere
with *In principio*,
than with all the rules
that ever your patrones made.

And in this minstrels
ben better than ye;
for they contrarien not
to the mirths that they maken,
but yee contrarien the gospell,
both in word and deed.

19. Freer, when thou recoivest ■ penie
for to say a mass,so,
whether sellest thou Gods bodie for that penie,
or thy praier, or els thy travell?
If thou saiest thou wolt not travell
for to say the mass,so but for the penie,

that certes if this be sooth,
 then thou lovest too litle need for thy soule ;
 and if thou sellest Gods bodie, other thy prayer,
 then it is very simonie,
 and art become ■ chapman worse than Judas,
 that sold it for thirtie pence.

20. Why writest thou hir names in thy tables
 that yeveth thee mony,
 sith God knoweth al thing?
 For it someth by thy writing
 that God would not reward him,
 but thou writest in thy tables,
 God would els forgotten it.
 Why bearest thou God in hand,
 and slanderest him,
 that he begged for his meat,
 sith he was lord over all?
 For thou had he beene unwise,
 to have begged and have no need thereto.
 Preor, after what lawe
 rulest thou thee?
 Where findest thou in Gods lawe
 that thou shouldest thus beg?

21. What manner men
 needeth for to beg?
 For whom oweth
 such men to beg?
 Why beggest thou
 so for thy brotheren?
 If thou saiest, for they have need,
 then thou doest it for the more perfection,
 or els for the least,
 or els for the meane.
 If it be the most perfection of all,
 then should all thy brethren do so,
 and then no man needed
 to beg but for him self,

for so should no man beg
 but he needed.
 And if it be the least perfection,
 why lovest thou then other ■■■
 more than thyselfe?
 For so thou art not well in charitie,
 since thou shouldest seek the more perfection,
 after thy power living
 thy self most after God;
 and thus leaving that imperfection,
 thou shouldest not so beg for them.
 And if it is a good mean,
 thus to beg as thou doest,
 then should no man do so,
 but they been in this good meane;
 and yet such a mean granted to you may never
 be grounded on Gods law,
 for then both leirid and leand
 that ben in meane degree of this world,
 should go about
 and beg as yo do.
 And if all should do so,
 certes well nigh all the world
 should go about
 and beg as yo done,
 and so should there be ten beggers
 against one yever.
 Why procurest thou men
 to yeve the their almes,
 and saiest it is so needful,
 and thou wilt not thy selfe
 win thee that meed.

22. Why wilt thou not beg
 for poore bedred men
 that bin poorer
 than any of your sect,
 that ligger and mow not go about

to help him selves?
 Sith we be all brethren in God,
 and that brotherhod passeth
 any other that ye
 or any man could make.
 And where most need were,
 there were most perfection;
 either els yee hold them
 not your pure brethren,
 but worse, but then ye be
 imperfect in your begging.
 Why make ye so many
 maisters among you,
 sith it is against the teaching
 of Christ and his apostles?

23. Whoso ben all your rich courts that yee han,
 and all your rich jewels,
 sith ye seyen that ye han nought
 ne in proper ne in common?
 If ye saine they ben the popes,
 why gather yee then of poore men and lords
 so much out of the kings hand
 to make your pope rich,
 And sith ye sain that it is great perfection
 to have nought in proper ne in common,
 why bee ye so fast about to make
 the pope, that is your father, rich,
 and put on him imperfection?
 Sithen ye saine
 that your goods been all his,
 and he should by reason
 be the most perfect man,
 it seemeth openlich
 that ye been cursed children
 so to slander your father
 and make him imperfect.
 And if yee saine that the goods be yours,

then do ye ayenst your rule.
 And if it be not ayenst your rule,
 then might ye have
 both plough and cart,
 and labour as othor good men done,
 and not so to beg by losengery,
 and idlo, as ye done.
 If yee say that it is more perfection to beg,
 than to travell or to worch with your hand,
 why preach ye not openly,
 and teach all men to do so,
 sith it is the best and most perfect life
 to the help of their soules,
 as ye make children to beg,
 that might have bin rich heirs?
 Why make ye not
 your feasts to poore men,
 and yeveth him yests,
 as yee done to the rich,
 sith poore men han
 more need than the rich?
 What betokeneth that ye goo
 tweine and tweine togither?
 If ye be out of charitie,
 ye accord not in soule.
 Why hog ye and take salaries therto
 more than othor priests,
 sith heo that most taketh,
 most charge hath?
 24. Why hold ye not saint Francis
 rule and his testament,
 sith Francis saith that God showed him
 this living and this rule?
 and certes, if it were Gods will,
 the pope might not fordo it,
 or els Francis was a lior,
 that saied in this wise.

And but this testament that he made
accord with Gods will,
or els erred, he is ■ lior,
that were out of charitie ;
and as the law saith, he is accursed
that letteth the rightful last wil of a dead man.
And this testament is the last will
of Francis that is a dead man ;
it seemeth therefore
that all his freers been cursed.

25. Why will ye not touch no coined money
with the crosse no with the kings head,
as ye done other jewels
both of gold and silver ?
Certes if ye despise the crosse,
or the kings head,
then ye be worthy to be despised
of God and the king ;
and sith ye will receive money
in your hearts, and not with your hands,
it seemeth that ye hold more holinesse
in your hands than in your hearts,
and then be false to God.

26. Why have ye exempt you from our kings lawes,
and visiting of our bishops,
more than other christen men
that liven in this realme,
If ye be not guiltie of traitorie to our realme,
or trespassers to your bishops ?
But ye will have the kings lawes
for the trespasse doe to you,
and ye wil have power of other bishops
more than other priests,
and also have leave to prison your brethren,
as lords in your courts,
more than other folks han
that ben the kings leege men.

27. Why shal some sect of you freers
 pay ech a yere a certaine
 to her generall provinciall or minister,
 or els to her sovereines,
 but if he steal a certaine number
 of children, as some men saine?
 And certes, if this ben sooth,
 then yee bee constrained upon certein pain
 to do theft, against Gods commaundement,
Non furtum facies.

28. Why be ye so hardie to grant by letters
 of fraternitie to men and women,
 that they shall have part and merite
 of all your good deedes?
 And ye woten never whether God bee apayed
 with your deeds, because of your sinne.
 Also yee witten never whether that man or woman
 be in state to bee saved or damned,
 then shall he have no merit in heaven
 for his owne deeds no for none other mans.
 And all were it so that he should have
 part of your good deeds,
 yet should hee have no more that God would give
 him

after that he were worthie;
 and so much shall each man have of God's yeft,
 without your limitation.
 But if ye will say that ye been Gods fellowes,
 and that he may nought doe
 without your assent,
 then be ye blasphemers to God.

29. What betokeneth
 that yee have ordeined,
 that when such one as ye have made
 your brother or sister,
 and hath a letter of your seale,
 that letter mought bee brought in your holye chapter,

and there be rad,
 or els yee will not pray for him.
 And but yo willen pray especially
 for all other that were not made
 your brothron or sistron,
 then were yo not in right charitie,
 for that ought to be common,
 and semely in ghostly things.

30. Freer, what charitie is this,
 to overcharge the people by mightie begging,
 under colour of preaching,
 or praying, or masses singing?
 Sith holy write biddeth not thus,
 but even the contrarie;
 for all such ghostly deedes should be done freely,
 as God yoveth them freely.

31. Freer, what charitie is this,
 to beguile children
 or they common to discretion,
 and bind hem to your orders,
 that ben not groundod in Gods law,
 agains hir friends will?
 Sithen by this follie been many apostataes,
 both in will and deed,
 and many beene apostataes in hir will
 during all her life,
 that would gladly be discharged,
 if they wist how;
 and so many ben apostataes,
 that shoulde in other states have been true men.

32. Freer, what charitie is this,
 to make so many freers
 in every country,
 to the charge of the people?
 Sith persons and vicars alone,
 ye, secular priests alone,
 ye, monkes and canons alone,

with bishops above them,
were ynough to the church
to doo the priests office.
And to adde more than ynough,
is a foule errour,
and great charge to the people,
and this openly against Gods will,
that ordained all thyngs
to be done in weight, number, and measure.
And Christ himselfe was apaied
with twelve apostles and a fewe disciples,
to preach and doo priests office
to all the whole world ;
then was it better doo than is nowo at this time,
by a thousand dele.
And right so as foure fingers
with a thombe in a mans hand
helpeth a man to worch,
and double number of fingers in one hand
should let him more ;
and so the more number that there were
passing the measure of Gods ordinance,
the more were a man letted to worch ;
right so, as it seemoth,
it is of these new orders
that ben added to the church,
without ground of holy write and Gods ordinance.

33. Freer, what charity is this,
to the people to lie,
and say that ye follow Christ in povertie
more than other men done ?
And yet in curious and costly housing,
and fine and precious clothing,
and delicious and liking feeding,
and in treasure and jewels,
and rich ornaments,
freers passen lords
and other rich worldly men,

and soonest they should bring
 her cause about,
 be it never so costly,
 though Gods law be put abacke.

34. Freer, what charitie is this,
 to gather up the books of holy write,
 and put hem in tresorie,
 and so emprison them
 from secular priestes and curats,
 and by this cantell
 let hem to preach the gospell
 freely to the people
 without worldly meed,
 and also to defame
 good priestes of heresie,
 and lien on hem openly,
 for to let hem to show Gods law
 by the holy gospell
 to the Christian people.

35. Freer, what charitie is this,
 to saine so much holines
 in your bodily clothing,
 that ye clepe your habit,
 that many blind fools desiren to die therein
 more than in another?
 And also that a freer that loveth his habit,
 late founden of men,
 may not be assoiled
 till he take it againe,
 but is apostata, as ye saine,
 and cursed of God and man both?
 The freer beleeveth truth and patience,
 chastitie, meeknesse, and sobrietie,
 yet for the more part of his life
 he may soon be assoiled of his prior;
 and if he bring home to his house
 much good by the yeare,
 bee it never so falsely

begged and pilled
 of the poore and needie people
 in countries about,
 he shall be hold a noble freer ;
 o Lord, whether this be charitie !

36. Freer, what charity is this,
 to prease upon a rich man,
 and to intice him to be buried among you
 from his parish church,
 and to such rich men give letters of fraternitie,
 confirmed by your generall seale,
 and therby to behr him in hand,
 that he shal have part of all your masses,
 mattens, preachings,
 fastings, wakings,
 and all other good deeds
 done by your brethren of your order,
 both whilst he liveth,
 and after that he is dead ;
 and yet ye witten never whether your deeds
 be acceptable to God,
 ne whether that man
 that hath that letter
 be able by good living
 to receive any part of your deeds.
 And yet a poore man,
 that ye wite well or supposen in conlen
 to have no good of,
 ye ne given to such letters,
 though he be a better man to God
 than such a rich man.
 Neverthelesse this poore man
 doth not reche therof ;
 for as men supposen,
 such letters, and many other
 that freers behoten to men,
 be full false decetts of freers,

out of all reason,
and Gods law,
and Christian mens faith.

37. Freer, what charitie is this,
to be confessors of lords and ladies,
and to other mightie men,
and not amend hem in hir living?
but rather, as it seemeth,
to be the bolder
to pill hir poore tenants,
and to live in lechery;
and there to dwell in your office of confessor
for winning of worldlie goods,
and to be hold great
by colour of such ghostly offices?
This seemeth rather pride of freers,
than charitie of God.

38. Freer, what charitie is this,
to fin that who so liveth after your order,
liveth most perfectlie,
and next followeth the state of apostles
in povertie and penance;
and yet the wisest and greatest clerkes of you
wend or send or procure to the court of Rome,
to be made cardinals or bishops
of the popes chaplens,
and to be assoiled of the vow of povertie
and obedience to your ministers;
in the which, as ye sain, standeth most perfection
and merit of your orders;
and thus ye liven as Pharisees
that sain one and do another to the contrarie,

Why name ye more
the patron of your order
in your *Confiteor*,
when ye begin masse,
than other saints,

apostles, or martyrs,
 that holy church hold[eth]
 more glorious than hem,
 and clope hem your patrons
 and your avowries?

Freer, whother was saint Francis
 in making of his rule that he set thine order in,
 a foole and a liar,
 or else wise and true?
 If ye saie that he was not a foole, but wise,
 ne a liar, but true,
 why shew ye-contrarie by your doing,
 when by your suggestion to the pope
 ye said that your rule that Francis made
 was so hard,
 that ye mow not live to hold it,
 without declaration and dispensation of the pope?
 And so by your deed,
 ne let your patron a foole,
 that made a rule so hard
 that no man may well keepe;
 and oke your deed prooveth him a liar,
 where he saith in his rule,
 that he tooke and learned it
 of the Holy Ghost;
 for how might ye for shame pray the pope
 undo that the Holy Ghost bit,
 as when ye prayed him to dispenso
 with the hardnesse of your order?

Freer, which of the foure orders
 of friers is best,
 to a man that knowoth not
 which is the best,
 but would faine enter into
 the best, and none other?
 If thou saiest that thine is the best,
 then saiest thou that none of the other

is as good ■ thine ;
 and in this ech freer in the three other orders
 wooll say that thou liest,
 for in the self same maner ech other freer
 wooll say that his order is best.
 And thus to ech of the foure orders
 bin the other three contrary in this point,
 in the which if any say sooth,
 that is one alone,
 for there may but one
 be the best of foure.
 So followeth it that if ech of these orders
 answered to this question as thou doest,
 three were false, and but one true,
 and yet no man should wite who that were.
 And thus it seemeth that the most part
 of freers bin or should be
 liars in this point,
 and they should answer thereto.
 If you say that another order of the freers
 is better than thine, or as good,
 why tooke ye not rather thereto as to the better,
 when thou mightst have chose at the beginning?
 And also why shouldst thou be an apostata,
 to leave thine order and take thee to that is better,
 and so why goest thou not
 from thine order into that?
 Freer, is there any perfecter
 rule of religion
 than Christ Gods sonne gave
 in his gospell to his brothren?
 or than that religion that saint James
 in his epistle maketh mention of?
 If you say yes, then puttest thou on Christ,
 that is the wisdom of God the Father,
 unkunning, unpower,
 and evill will;

for then he could not make his rule,
 so good as an other did his,
 and so he had be unkunning;
 that he might not so make
 his rule so good
 as another man might,
 and so were he unmightie, and not God;
 as he would not make his rule
 so perfect as another did his,
 and so he had bin evill willed,
 namely to himselfe.

For if he might and could,
 and would have made a rule perfect,
 without defau't, and did not,
 he was not Gods Sonne almighty.
 For if any other rule
 be perfecter than Christes,
 then must Christes rule
 lacke of that perfection,
 by as much as the other
 weren more perfecter;
 and so were default, and Christ had failed
 in making of his rule;
 but to put any default or failing in God
 is blasphemie.

If thou say that Christes rule,
 and that religion
 which saint James maketh mention of,
 is perfectest,
 why holdest thou not
 thilke rule without more?

And why clopest thou the rather
 of saint Francis or saint Dominiks rule,
 or religion or order,
 than of Christes rule or Christes order?

Freer, canst thou any default asigne
 in Christes rule of the gospell,

with the which he taught all men
 sikerly to be saved,
 if they kept it to her ending?
 If thou say it was too hard,
 then saiest thou Christ lied;
 for he said of his rule,
 " My yoke is soft and my burden light."
 If thou say Christes rule
 was too light;
 that may be assigned for no default,
 for the better it may be kept.
 If thou saist that there is no default
 in Christes rule of the gospoll,
 sith Christ himself saith
 it is light and easie,
 what need was it to patrons of freers
 to adde more thereto,
 and so to make an harder religion to save freers
 than was the religion of Christes apostles,
 and his disciples holden,
 and were saved by?
 But if they wouldon that her freers
 saton above the apostles
 in heaven for the harder religion
 that they keopen here,
 so would they sitten in heaven above Christ himselfe,
 for their more and streict observations,
 then so should they be better
 than Christ himself, with mischance.
 Go now soorth, and fraine your clerks,
 and ground ye you in Gods law,
 and gif Jacke an answer;
 and when ye han assoiled me
 that I have said sadly,
 in truth I shall soile thee
 of thine orders,
 and save thee to heaven.

If freers kun not, or now not,
 excuse hom of these questions asked of hom,
 it seemeth that they be horrible gilty
 against God and her even christian;
 for which gilts and defaults
 it were worthy that the order,
 that they cal their order,
 were fordone.

And it is woonder that men susteine hom,
 or suffer hir live in such maner.

For holie write biddeth
 that thou do well to the meoke,
 and give not to the wicked,
 but forbed to give hom bread,
 lest they be made thereby
 mightier through you.

THE REPLY OF FRIAR DAW TOPIAS, WITH JACK
 UPLAND'S REMOINDER.¹

1401.

Ho shal graunten to myn oyo
 a strong streme of leres,
 to wailen and to wepyn

An answer to this tretis,
 that a frere hath forgid;
 he callith hym self Daw Topias,

¹ These two alliterative poems, a reply to and a defence of the preceding, are preserved in a contemporary MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby,

No. 11, fol. 2, 1^o. The allusion which fixes their date has already been pointed out in the note at the beginning of the satire of Jack Upland.

the sorwyngo of synne ?
 for charité is chasid
 and flomed out of londe,
 and every state stakerth
 unstable in him silfe.
 Now apperid the prophete
 that seint Joon soide,
 to joyne therto Johel
 in his soth sawis ;
 the mooné is al blodi
 and dymme on to lokyn,
 that signifieth lordship
 forslokend in synne ;
 the sterres ben on erthe throwun
 and fallen to the erthe,
 and so is the comounté
 trouli oppressid ;
 the sunne is eclipsid
 with al his twelve pointes,
 by erreure and heresie,
 that reingnith in the chirche.

ares[oneth] Jak Uplonde.
 He groundith hym upon seven thynges,
 as his ordre askith,
 lesynges with losengery,
 cursynges and falso glose,
 chiding with blasfemie
 or chytoryng as chowzes.
 Thou saist thi name is Dawe,
 it may rith wel be so ;
 for thou hast condiciounes
 of ■ tane¹ chowze.
 He chiterith and he bribith
 alle that he may gotte ;

¹ I have ventured to read the | in the MS. and cannot be read with
 word thus, but it is nearly effaced | certainty.

Now is oure bilove laft
 and Lollardi growith;
 envie is enhaunsid
 and aproched to preostes,
 that shulden onforme her flok
 and ground in Goddes lawe,
 to love her God sovereynli,
 and sithen her brothir.
 Bot not for thanne now is tauzt
 hindring of states,
 and pursuynge of povertie,
 that Crist hath approved.
 Now is that seed of cisme
 sown in the chirche;
 the whote fadith with the floure,
 oure fode is for to fecho.
 Ffoxes frettid in fore
 waston the cornes,
 and Cristes vine is vanishid
 to the verray rote.
 Now Achor spoilith Jerico,
 and lyvoth of the thefte;
 and so lyven this Lollardis

this he doth in dede
 assaye of hem that knowith.
 Jak Dawo, thou blabourist blasfemies,
 and reson hast thou non;
 thou leggist oft Goddis lawe,
 bot to a false entente;
 ȝee, falselier than the fende,
 whan he saide to Crist,
Quia angelis suis mandavit de te.
 Daw, thou fablest of foxes,
 and appliest hem to a puple,
 of whom nother thou knowyst kunnyng,
 ne her conversacion.
 Bot iche man that wille hath,

in her fals fablis,
 Dalan and Abiron
 and Chorees children,
 with nowo soncoros onsoncon
 the auters of synne
 Baal preestes bon bolde
 sacrificio to make,
 and mortel maladi
 crepith in as a cankor ;
 and thus is Jak Uplond
 fodid with folio,
 and thourz formyng of his formore
 thus freyneth a freie.
 On wonder wise, seith Jak,
 freres, zo ben growun ;
 sown in zoure soetes
 of Antieristis hondes ;
 unboxom to bishopis,
 not lege men to kynges ;
 wode corn no gras
 wil zo not howon,
 no lyven with Jakke in labour,
 but al to zoure ese.

and happo of discrecion,
 may knowe thee and thin ordre,
 as Crist saith, bi the workes.
 Take propirte of tway foxes,
 and workes of tway stoues,
 and than thou syndest hem meche aorde,
 bot stoues ben the worse ;
 if thou saist this is not so,
 bot groundid without skil,
 loke how Sampson bonde the foxes
 two and two togodir,
 til that that destried
 the corne alle about hem,
 and this was, ■ a doctour saith,
 the figur of freres.

Jak, thi formur is a folo,
 that thus thee hath yfoumed,
 to make so lewid an argument
 azens so many freres,
 that better knowon liztles
 her doctours and her bible,
 than he can rede his troper
 bi a long torcho.
 But, Jak, thouz thi questions
 semen to thee wyso,
 zit liztly a lewid man
 mayo leyen hem a water ;
 ffor summe ben lewid, summe ben shrowid
 summe falsli supposid ;
 and theifore shal no maistor,
 no no man of scole,
 be vexid with thy maters,
 but a lewid frere
 that men callen frere Daw Topias,
 as lewid as a loke,
 to medolin with thi malice
 as longo as thou wolt.
 ¶ That we ben not lego men,
 Jak, lowde thou lvest ;
 ffor longer than we lyven so,
 abide we not in londe,
 the sotil witt of wyso men
 shulde temte us wol soone,
 and fleme us from felowshipe,

¶ Dawe, thou saist proudely I lie,
 for I telle the trouthe ;
 ffor that [thei] ben not lego —
 men knowlechen wise ;
 ffor whan ze ben trespassours
 in theft or other vices,

and done us of dawo.
 We obeien to bishopes,
 ■ boxomnesso askith,
 althouzz not so fer forth
 as secular preestes;
 ffor holy chircho hath us hent
 and happid with grace,
 to were us from wedores
 of wynteres stormes,
 wede corn ne gras
 have we not to howen,
 ne with Jakke Uplond
 ferme the dikes;
 ¶ althouzz Poul in his pistole
 laborers preise,
 displosith him not the preestes
 that syngen her masses.
 For rízt as in thi bodi, Jakke
 ben ordoynd thin hondis,
 ffor thin heed and for thi feet
 and for thin oyon to wirken,

your piour may at wille
 seeche you home to hym,
 without kynges commission,
 Jak, bot gret azon reson.
 If for oft ze leden awaye mennes wifes,
 and ben sette in stokkes.
 Bot your caplaynes chaulengen you,
 and asken not love of kynges.

¶ Me marvelith of thi lowdnes, Dawe,
 or of wilful lesynges;
 ffor Poule laborid with his hondes,
 and other postilles also;
 zee, oure gentil Jhesu,
 ■ it is openly knowe.
 And thes were the best preestes

rízt so the comoun peple
 God hath disposid,
 to laboren for holi chirche
 and lordshipis also.
 Al for-writhen serpent,
 thi wyles ben aspied,
 with a thousand wrynkeles
 thou voxed many soules;
 thi malice is so michel,
 thou maist not for-hele,
 but thi venym with vehemens
 thou spittist al at ones.

'Thou seist we ben confounders
 of prelates and of lordes;
 but, Jakke, bi my lowté,
 lowde thou lyeest;
 ffor telle me, bi oure counseile
 what lord hath ben confoundid?
 or what prelat of ony popil
 put in ony peril?
 But sith that wickide worme,
 Wielyf be his name,
 began to sowe the seed
 of cisme in the ortho,
 sorowe and shendship
 hath awaked wyde,
 in lordship and prelacie
 hath growe the lasse graco.
 Jak, thou seist with symonye
 the seven sacramentes we sellen,

that ever rose on groundo;
 and the best messes song,
 not lettyng hem her labour.
 But suche bolde boggyng hatid thai
 in wordo and werke.

and preion for no man
 but ȝif thei willen paion. -
 God wote, Jakke, thou sparist
 here the sotho,
 and, or we departen us asoundre,
 it shal wel be showid.
 But oon is the sacrament
 that we han to dispensen
 off penaunce to the peple
 whan nede askith.
 I trowe it be thi parochie preest,
 Jacke, that thou meenest,
 that nyl not losel his parischone
 til the peny be paid,
 ¶ no assoilen hem of her synne
 withouten schrift silver.
 Jakke, of thi foli
 thou seynest fife orores, .
 and ȝit ben ther but foure
 foundid in the lawe,
 falsly as thou seist
 and soona shal be distroied.
 Jakke, thi lowid prophecie
 I praise not at a peeso.
 Somme fantasie of Milton

¶ Dawe, thou spokist proundely,
 apechyng oure prester;
 bot of oon thyng am I corton,
 thai ben lasse ovel than ȝe.
 Pfor alle if thai synne oft,
 ■ it is wel knowen,
 ȝit the grounde that thai have
 is playnly Cristis religion.
 And thouȝ thai straye oft thefro,
 ȝit mowe thai com to grace.
 Bot ȝe han lost that grounde,

hath marrid thi mynde ;
 thou prophete of Baal,
 thi God is aslopo ;
 the goodnesse of the grost
 may not lizten upon thee.
 Whi presumyst thou so proutli
 to prophecie these thingis ?
 and wost no more what thou blabereest
 than Balames asse.
 Thou mayntenist in thi mater
 that matrimony thus we marre ;
 but this arowe shal turne azon
 to him that it sent,
 ffor thou and thi secte,
 sothli ze schenden,
 in as moche as ze may,
 the sacramentis soven,
 and roles of synne
 and grauntyng of gráce,
 and Cristis bitter passioun
 ze sette not at an hawe.
 Who marrith more matrimonie,
 ze or the freris,

and your patron bothe.
 Ffor as the prophetes of Achab
 wer multiplied in many,
 and by oon holy prophet
 were thai alle destried,
 so the chirehe is cropun now
 to multitude of cursid men,
 whiche of saddle bileve
 most nede be destried.
 Bot I prayse nother prestes ne thee,
 for your assent in symonye.

¶ with wronchis and wiles
 wynnenn mennes wyves,
 and maken hem scolers
 of the newe scole,
 and reden hem her forme
 in the lowe chaier?
 To maken hem profit in your lawe
 thei redo your rounde rollis,
 and callen hom forth her lessounes
 with, "Sister, mo nedith."

Jak, thou seist that we bidden
 the castels of Cayn.
 It is Goodis hous, oold schrewo,
 that we ben aboute,
 to mayntenen his servauntis
 to singe and to reden,
 and bidden for the peple,
 ■ we ben beholden.

Clorkis sein that Salomon
 made a solempne temple,

- - -

¶ Daw, I have askid questiones
 of thee and of thi freres;
 bot that I lied ones ouzt
 knewe I mo not guilty,
 for Goodis lawe forbedith this
 in many place, I wene.
 And thouz I be Jak Uploude,
 zit drede I Goodis lawe.
 Bot I suppose thi secte trustith
 so meche in her habites,
 that thai kun lye of custom,
 as Petor prophceith of hem,
Fuerunt pseudo-prophetae in populis, magistri
mendaces, etc.
 Bot to lye thus playnly and openly on men,

¶ And ȝit was it bot figure
of oure nowe churche,
that ech holi hous that Crist
him silf in dwellith.

Jak, thou scist, ful serpentli,
and sowdiours us thou callist,
setto for oure sutilté
in Anticristis vaunwarde.

Crist in the gospel
rehersith a rowle,
how ech man shal be knowun
oonli bi his werkes ;

ȝo count it not synne,
as ȝour wordes shoven ;
ȝour freies ben taken alle day
with wymmen and wifes,
bot of ȝour privey sodomye
spake I not ȝette.
Bot lat see, Dawe, if thou,
or any lyer of thin ordo,
can prove this on oon of hem
that clepest my seete,
and sicerly shalle thou have
of me an hundriith pounde.

¶ Daw, thou leggist Salomon
for ȝour hie houses ;
bot olde holy doctoures
ben aȝen thee here,
and specially Jerom,
that saith in the lawe,
who wil allego the temple
for glorie of ou churche,
forsake he to be cristen, Jak,
and be he nowe a Jewe.

and if we were founden
 on Antieristis side,
 oure werkes shulden shewen,
 Jakko, ful soone.
 The werkes of Antierist
 pursuen oure bilove,
 so do the disciplis
 of your sori secte,
 shending the sacramentes,
 salve to oure soris.
 Who tythoth bot zo
 the anet and the moule,
 sterching your faces,
 to be holden holi,
 blaunchid graves
 ful of dede bones,
 wanderynge weder-cokkes,
 with every wynd waginge;
 the spiritis of the dovel
 mateyn youre tokenys,
 thourz quenching of torches in you layl-ende

12 q. 2^a *Gloria episcopi.*

If for sith the pore lorde, he saith,
 halowed his pore chirehe,
 take zo Cristes crosse, he saith,
 and counte we delices chaye.
 Daw, blaberere and blynde leder,
 thoug thou bigile symple hertes
 with thi gildyn glose,
 and with thi costly houses,
 thou bigilest not Jak
 with your thevish logges.

*Unde in evangelio, vos autem fecistis eam
 speluncam latronum.*

¶ Ze resseyve your wisdom ;
 youre preching is perilouse,
 it poiseneth sone,
 as honyed vonym
 it crepit in swot.
 Jak, in the Apocalypso
 ful pertli ze be pointid,
 whan the seven angols
 blowun thera seven trompis,
 to warne Antieristis meyné
 of our Lordes comyng,
 with hor sterno stormes
 astonye al the orthe,
 reve men of her rest,
 and forli hem afose.
 Tho first angel with his blast
 he noieth ful soro,
 hayl and fier he myngit with blood
 he sendith to the orthe,
 by the tokenyng that your preching, Jak,
 makith obstinat hertis,
 Your chalaunce inducit
 ire and envie.
 Who ben more Fariseis
 than hinderers of soulis,

¶ Topias, thou writist me
 to be a lowed man ;
 bot lowed men prechen not,
 as thou canst saye,
 bot if the list to lye.
 Bot I wot thou saist thus,
 by vertuose prestes ;
 bot thai ben ful bisio
 to edifie the chircho,

the which in her interrolacion
 divisioun bon callid ;
 and 3our teching in an hour
 wil broke mo love-daies,
 than 3e mowe bryngo togidore
 vij. 3ere after.
 The secounde aungel wit his blast
 smytith with drede,
 and an hugo hill is sent adoun
 into the salt water ;
 the thridde party of creaturis
 bon bitter therof,
 ffor Sathanas by 3our sawes
 is sent into soulis,
 that ben ful unsavory,
 and saltid by synne.
 The bitternesse of 3our lachityng
 browith many bales.
 The thridde angel sent down
 a sterre from heven,
 bronli bronnyngo as a bround,
 wermode it was callid ;
 wermode, Jak, moost verrelli
 was Wielif, 3our maister,
 withinne in his begynnyngo
 licht lemed he by cunnyngo,

that the multitude of 3ou
 han allemost destried.
 Ffor the gospel saith,
Surgent multi pseudo-propheta.
 Bot of hem bon fewe,
 and gretly dispiside ;
 and of 3ou ful many,
 and over the mo the werse.

¶ but aftir with wrong wrytyng
 he wrouzte mykil care,
 and prosumyng porilously
 foul fel fro the chirche,
 missaveryngo of the sacrament,
 infectyng many other.
 Thus bronneth he zit as a bronde,
 consumyng many soulis,
 that in her hard obstinacy
 growen schides of helle.
 Maximine ne Maniché nevero
 wrouzten more wrako.
 Therfore from wele is he went,
 and woo mote him wryngo.
 The iiij^e aungel with his blast
 smytith ritz smorte;
 the iij. party of the sonne
 with dymmenes is dirked,
 off the moone and of the storges,
 and of the day also;
 and the eglo in the eyre
 thrice *va!* wescheth.

¶ Me meruolth, Daw, thou darst thus lie
 on suche a gret clerke,
 and in hys tyme knowen wel
 a vertuose man,
 of richo and pore
 that hym tho knewe.
 But thou, as blynde Bayarde,
 berkest at the mono,
 as an olde mylne dog
 when he bygymith to dote.
 Bot wel I wot thi bassyng,
 lye thou never so lowde,
 may not menuse this seint,
 that lyved and tauzt so truly,
Quia dignus est operari misericordiam.

The sonne is holy churche,
and lordship the moone,
the sterres ben the comunz,
as I seid bifore,

¶ And alle these ben adured
to youre sory seote ;
and summe of ech of these nstutes
ben privyly apoisoned.

Therfore thries *va* !
is manassid upon you,
for thre manere of synnes
that comunly ye usen ;
va for envye, *va* for ipocrisie,
and *va* for your lecherie.

Whan the first angel blow,
ther was a pit opened,
ther rose smotheryng smoke,
and breso therinne,
alle thei weren lich horses
araid into bataile,
thei stongen as scorpioun,
and hadden mannis face,
tothed ■ a lion,
with haburjouns of iron.

This pille is the depnes,
Jak, of your malice ;
the smothering smoke
is your dymme doctrine,
that flieth out from the flawmes

¶ I drede me, Dawe, the sentence,
of whiche the prophol spekith,
shal falle hevye on this hede,
and many of thi brether.

Vae vobis qui dicitis bonum malum et malum bonum.
For alle two sentence,

of the develis malice,
that troublith and blindith
the izen of mannis resoun.
The breses ben not ellis
but *Anticristis menyē*,
with short legges bifore
and longe bihinde;
the which pretenden first
mekeness of herte,
and aftir rysyng to arrogauce,
disdeynyng al other.
That ze ben lyke scorpions,
signefieth not ellis,
but that ze flateren afor,
and venym casten bihinde.
Ze ben also lich horses
redy into bateil,
by woodnesse and foolhardinesse
for heresie to dien.
Ze ben tothed as lyoun
by stynkyng detraction.
Zour haburjons that ze han upon,
ben cauteles and sleiztes.
och intrikid in other,
to snarre symple soules;
but that thei ben of iron,
obstinacio is shewid,
for the which with Farao
in helle ze wil be dampned.

that we taken here,
thou turnest into falsenes,
that woo shal the bitide;
for to our secte that is Christis
we drawen bot fewe puple;
for thou and other pseudo

In the sizt of aungels blast
 foure aungels there were lousid,
 the whiche were redye botho day and nyghto
 men for to noien,
 to sleen the fortho part of men
 with fiyr, smoke, and brymstone.
 Ffoure angels singnesion
 foure general synnos,
 sett up bi sir Adam, Jakke,
 among your maistris,
 cediciouns, supersticions,
 the glotouns, and the proude,
 Poerte preambelis to presso
 asorne Anticristis comyng,
 to sleen the thridde party of men
 with ther deedly dartis
 off envie, pride,
 and leschry stynkyngo.
 Ffor sum ben perfit, sum ben yvel,
 sum ben unstable;
 the perfit wole not ben hirt,
 the yvel ben al redy,
 but thei that ben unstable
 resseyven the strokes,
 and thei ben clepid the thridde part
 of hem that ben dede.
 The seventhe angel blow his trumpe,
 and noise in heven was made,

han marrid hem in the way,
 that bot if God of his grace
 sende his honde of help,
 the chirehe that shuld folowe Crist,
 is lykly to shynke.

*Qui mihi ministrat me sequatur. Attendite a fermento
 Phariseorum, quod est hypocrisis.*

that the kyngdom of this world
 shulde falle to Cristis hondis;
 betokenyng that thouz Antierist,
 with his myzti moynd,
 shulde for a short tyme
 by tirantrie intrusyvo,
 zit shal God gader his flok togider,
 and rengne without eende.
 Jak, thus to dubby with scripture,
 me thinkith grete folie;
 ffor as lewid am I as thou,
 God wote the sothe,
 I know not an a
 from the wynd-mylne,
 ¶ no a b from a bolo foot,
 I trowe, no thi silf nother;
 and zit for al my lewidhed,
 I can wol undirstonde
 that this provy processe
 perteneth to your secte,
 and we as gittles therof,
 as ze of Cristis blossyng.
 It ar ze that stonden bifore,
 in Antieristis vanwardo,
 and in the myddil and in the rorowardo,
 ful bigly onbatailid.

¶ *Homo apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore
 perverso.*

Dawe, thou hast list conscience,
 thus synaly to deme;
 ffor here thou damnest men to helle
 without any condicion.
 Who have love of scripture
 to deme after mennes werkes,
 but for to deme as thou dost,
 is to robbe God of his power;

The devel is your duke,
 and pride berith the banor;
 wraththe is youre gunner,
 envie is your archer,
 your coveitise castith for,
 your lecherie brennith,
 glotony gidorith stickes therto,
 and slouth myneth the wallis,
 malice is your mon of armes,
 and trecherie is your aspice.
 Thus semith that so more than wo
 be Antieristis frendis.
 Jak, of perfite pacience holilich
 holy churche thou me pucchist,
 to kep it if I will sitte
 on Cristis owne side;
 but, good Jak, herdist thou evero
 how *judicare* cam into oredo?
 no more skil thou canst of pacions, Jak,
 so God me spede,
 ffor thi schroude herlo and ho
 bon ■ asero asundir
 as Lucifer is from heven,
 and Gabriel from helle,
 the which, ■ many man suposis,
 shal nevero meto togidor.

ffor the apostil saith,
*Noli ante tempus judicare, quoadusquo veniat
 Dominus.*

Litil wondir thou? lordis myssotymo,
 that han such confusours.
*Quia si cæcus cæcum ducit, ambo in foveam
 cadunt.*

Thou saist thou knowist no lottis here,
 as if thou wer non clerke.
 To take ■ clerke ■ it shuld be,

On old Englis it is said,
unkissid is unknowun,
and many men spoken of Robyn Hood,
and shotte nevero in his bowo.

Now, Jak, to thi questions,
nedes me moste answer,
althouȝ thei wanton sentence
and good thrift bothe.
Which is the moost perfit ordre,
Jakke, thou askist,
and how many ordres
ther ben in orthe.

Off what ordre art thou, frere,
and who made thin ordre?
iff thou wolt have the higest ordre,
seke it in heven,
in the blossid Trinite
that fourmed us alle,
where flowith the Sunne from the Fadir,
the Holigost from hem bothe;
noon gretter in degre,
no more perfite than other,
but the ordre that there is,
is in her proceeding;
and if we comen lower,
there finde we holy angels,

after his undirstondyng,
than sayst thou here more trwly
than in any other place.
Clark is als meche to mene,
as of the sort of God,
and so thou previst thi self non suchie,
if thou loke riȝt,
but a liere apostata,
with alle his other parties.

stablid in iij. ierarchies,
 dividid in ordres nyne.
 Seraphin he is the sovereynest,
 in charité he brennith;
 and of al ordris in erto
 y holde preesthood the hizest,
 that han the principal partis of mon,
 and kingis han the bodies;
 and this is the popes decret
 in comoun lawe.

¶ But peraunter, Jak, thou monest
 of religious ordre,
 of tomplores, hospitalors,
 chanouns, monkes, and freres,
 Jak, in this mater,
 loke seint Thomas bokes,
 and thei shal thee techon

¶ Daw, dirt, thou clatorist, meche of orderis
 of aungles in heven,
 bot lykkyn not thes to thin ordre,
 ne thin ordre to hom;
 for that thou ordonid of God,
 there withouten synnes;
 and thin is ordened of man,
 with many rotyn rites;
 and so as the prestes of Bel
 stode undir the awter,
 to bigile the kyng,
 to thesly cache here lyfledde,
 ■ 3e forgo 3our salshed
 undir ydil yprocrisie,
 to bigile the puple,
 bothe pore and riche;
 ■ the prestes fayned that Bel
 eto the kynges sacrificio,
 ■ 3our wikkid wynnyng
 3e sayo wirchipith God.

and onfourme at the fulle.
 How many ordris ther ben,
 can I not telle,
 but if y cowde calkyn
 al manere kyndes,
 ffor to loken how many kyndes
 oure Lord hath yfourmed.
 But evermore betwene two and two, Jak,
 thou shalt fynden ordre.
 Off what ordre I am,
 and who made myn ordre,
 Jakke, fast thou fraynest,
 and fayn woldist wite.
 ¶ I am of Cristis ordre, Jak,
 and Crist made myn ordre,
 ensauple in the gospel,
 in many sondry place,
 ffor who tauzte obedience,
 chastite, and povertie?
 Hopist thou not it was Crist,
 and fulfillid in him self,
 in which ech religion
 perfitt is groundid,
 reversynge the soorie synnes

¶ Sit, Daw, in this mater,
 thou broylist up many losynges,
 ffor grounde of thin ordre
 not groundid in the gospel;
 ffor see thes thre vertues
 whiche thou here rehersist,
 shaylen in thin ordre
 welny in every persone.
 Ffor in obedience and chastite,
 and povertie also,
 go folowen more Antierist

notid of the postle,
 lust of fleich and lust of ize,
 and pride in oure lyvyngo.
 On this threo, Jak, by my owle,
 is groundid al 3our colege,
 Iff I broke myn ordre,
 I breke Goddis lawe,
 and if I be punishid for that oon,
 I am ponishid for that other.
 Bot the contrarie of this, Jak,
 thou falsly asformest.
 If ony religioun be more peislt,
 than techith seint Jame, Jacko boy,
 oither more appreved of God,
 fayne thou woldist witen.
 Iff I seie thee, thou askist
 where it is foundid ;
 and if y mayt seie not that thou soist,
 thus thou procedist.
 Thou soist that I contrarie
 Cristis owne rewles,
 bidinge 3ove to be pore
 in peyne of dampnacion,
 and we piken from the pore and richo

than Jhesu Crist our Tordre,
 3e ben more obedient
 to 3oure owne reules,
 than to the reules of Crist
 groundid in lawes.
 And as to chastite of body,
 3e breken it ful oft ;
 bot chastite of soule,
 forsakyng Crist our sponse,
 ffor 3e ben apostatas,
 gon bak fro holi chirehe.

al that wo may geton.
 Jak, thou shewist sikirli,
 what scole thou hast ben inno,
 of sutiltee of arguyng
 me thinkith thi brayn ful thinno.
 Go grees a shoep undir the taile,
 that semeth the beter
 than with sotil sillogismes
 to parbrake thi witt.
 Jack, in James pistles
 al religioun is groundid,
 ffor there is maad mencion
 of two perfit lyves,
 that actif and contemplatif
 comounli ben callid,
 ffulli figurid by Mario
 and Martha hir sister,
 by Peter and bi Joon,
 by Rachel and by Lya.
 Thes lyves ben groundid in charité
 by diverse degreos,
 by men of professionis
 makyng sundri religiouns,
 and evident ensauple
 moun techen us the waye.

Initium omnis peccati apostare a Deo.

As to verrei poverté,
 who that wil rizt loke,
 3e ben the most covetouse
 of alle men in erthe,
 ffor with symonye and begrye,
 and sellyng of shift,
 3e pillen bothe gret and smal,
 and prise hem of bileve

Avaritia, quod est idolorum servitia.

¶ Ffor sum fleen from the world,
 and closen hem self in wallis,
 and steken hem in stones,
 and litil wole thoi spēken,
 to fleen sich occasiouns
 as foly wole fynden;
 and these wo clepen aneres
 in the comoun speche.
 Also in contemplacion
 there ben many other
 that drawen hem to disceit,
 and drye myche payne;
 by cerbis, rootes, and fruyte lyven,
 for her Goddis love;
 and this manere of folk
 men callen heremytes.
 The thridde degree thore is,
 not for to be dispisid,
 off sich ■ ben gadrid
 in coventis togidore;
 off the which men spekith
 David in his psalmis,
 sith he seith how merie it is
 to dwelle togidore;

¶ Dawe, thou ratolist many thynges,
 bot grounde hast thou non;
 ffor where groundist thou in Goddis lawe
 to close men in stones,
 bot if it were wode men,
 or giloures of the puple?
 Sith alle that is not groundid
 smacchith grette synne;
 bot if ȝe taken as ȝe usen
 arseworde this gospel,

the which for worldly combrance
 kepen in cloistris,
 on hert and oon soule
 havynge with the apostlis;
 and this clepe we monastical,
 that kendlly is knowun.
 Mo, Jak, in contemplacion
 ther be diverse degrees;
 and after that charité growith in hom,
 the more is her mede.
 Off actif lyf y shulde thee tellen,
 yf that y hadde tyme,
 and shoven how mē by charité ben holden
 to holpe her brotheren;
 somme with paynymes for to fyte,
 oure feith to defende;
 somme for to make purvyaunce
 for seke and for pore;
 somme for to pieche to the pupkē
 astir her syhne askith;
 and somme in botho lyves
 laboren full soore,
 liehe unto the angels
 in Jacobus ladder.

*Non potest civitas abscondi super montem posita;
 ellis, neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub
 modio.*

Or wher syndist thou, Dawkyn,
 that men shulden kille her brother?
 Sith Crist, our aller duke,
 brouȝt us verrei pees,
 bot if there be of the ranes
 that ran fro Antieristis nose,

Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis.

¶ See now, Jak, thi sill,
 how these bothe lyves
 opinli ben expressid
 in the opistle of James :
 cleen religioun it is, he seith,
 to visite the widowis,
 the fadirles and the modirles,
 to actif lyf expressid,
 and undefouled us to kepen
 from al worldly werkis.
 Byhold of contemplacioun
 opinli he spokith ;
 so this may be reasonably
 the conclusioun of my tale,
 that no religion more is
 than techith sent Jame.

Jak, thou seist we piken
 from the pore and from the rich,
 and not zoven azeuward,
 thouz that thoi ben nedly ;
 that almes is pykyng,
 y fynde it in thi boke,
 and I herde it nevere asorn
 in no maner scripture.
 But if alwey pikors, Jak,
 thou wolt us maken,
 ther wo piken but seely pans,
 thi seeto pikith poundis.

■ Touchyng this pagyn, Dawe,
 thi losynges hou ful is ;
 for her thou spokist of tway lyves,
 and ze don nother wel,
 for Martha groundid hir labour
 fully in Goddis lawe,
 so may. not ze zeour hoggyng,
 no zeour castelles nouthir.

What we zeven to the pore,
 it nedith not thee to tolle;
 ffor almes-dede shul be hid,
 and sweten in thi hondis.
 Whi, bi mannes mariage,
 3^u ben weddid to 3our abitis
 wole harder than worldly men
 ben weddit to her wyves,
 which thei mowe leeve and lote go
 as longo as him list.
 Jak, for siche manere scole
 3e cacchen Cristis curse,
 so freli to mayntenen
 Manichés errours,
 to make men breke her matrimonye,
 and leeve her wyves,
 and whanne the good man is oute,
 playe hey god rode.
 Jak, to oure abite
 be we not weddid
 more than eny preest is
 weddid to his coroun,
 that is over growun with heer,
 and he preest nevere the lesse;
 or ellis shulde every harbour
 make nowe preestes.
 Rigt so oure clothis maken
 not men of religion,

But of contemplacion
 3e usen not bot as foxes;
 so in this 3e leven Crist
 Martha and Marie both.
 As touchyng 3iftes to pore men,
 3e pike that thai shulde have,
 bothe of godis and faithis of soule,
 I, Jak, can see non other.

but onli oure profession
 byndith ■ to the stake;
 and so apostasio
 nowen we maken in oure soule,
 like men of religion
 abidinge in oure abitis.
 If Sathanas were transfigurid
 into his former fairnesse,
 trowist thou he were ouzt ellis
 but a dampnid aungel?
 and so not for the levyng of oure clothis
 we be not punishid,
 but bicause it bitokeneth
 forsakyng of oure roule;
 and, Jakke, no more than thi sadil
 makith thin hors a more,
 no more makith oure abitis
 monkes no freris.
 Jak, of oure preciouse clothis
 fast thou carpiest,
 the which ben so fyn
 that noman worth better.
 Every man may perseyve apertli,
 Jakke, that thou liest.
 Were we no sondal ne satyn,
 ne goldun clothis,
 and these passon in preciouseitee
 many foold ouris.

*Panis egentium vita pauperis est; qui defraudat
eum, homo sanguinis est.*

We ■ not make mariage, Dawe,
 ne pursue ■ divorce;
 we wynne not meche money with thee,
 as thi serte doth ful oft.
Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.

But if my cloth be over presciouse,
 Jakke, blame the worer;
 ffor myn ordre hath ordeyned
 al in good mesure.
 Thou axist me, Jakke, of my grete hood,
 what that it monoth,
 my scapelarie and my wide cope,
 and the knottide girdil.
 ¶ What meenith thi tipet, Jakke,
 as longe as a stromer,
 that hangith longe bihinde,
 and kepith thee not hoot?
 an hool cloith of scarlet
 may not make a gowne;
 the pokes of purchace
 hangen to the orte,
 and the cloith of oo man
 myȝte helo half a doseyne.
 Why, is thi gowne, Jakke,
 widder than thi cote,
 and thi cloke al above
 as round as a bello,

¶ I praiso not, Dawe, the stromorro
 that thou herof spekest;
 bot of suche wido clothing,
 tateris and ingges,
 it lirtith myn hert hevyly,
 I wil that thou it wite.
 Bot ȝour ypocrites habit,
 to whiche ȝe ben harde weddid,
 doth more harm than thes,
 bi thes two skilles;
 oon for the coloure,
 that signifieth sadness,
 whan ȝe ben most unstedfast
 of any folk in erthe;
 another for ȝour difformed shap,

sith talle myȝte serve
 to kepe thee from coold ?
 Jak, answer thou to that oon,
 and I shal to that other.
 My grete coope that is so wiid,
 signefieth charité,
 that largeli longith to be sprad
 to sibbe and to frende,
 figurid in the faire cloith
 of Salomons table,
 and bi wedding garnement
 that Crist hadde at his feeste.
 My greet hood behynde,
 shapun as ■ shoeld,
 suffraunce in adversitee
 sothely it scheweth,
 herbi to receyve reproof
 for oure Goddis sake ;
 or ellis bisynesse of oure soith
 it may wel bitokene,
 whiche that ȝe Lollardes
 constreyne ȝou to distroie.

that signifieth ȝour holines ;
 so if it be soth
 that ȝe therof saye,
 it wold with litil help
 make an ape ■ seint.
 The tipet is a comyn roule,
 if it be not superflue,
 and so it doth gode
 to hynde ■ mannes lorde ;
 bot ȝour misse shapen shokke
 bihynde at ȝour shuldres,
 blowith ȝour ypocrisie,
 and blyndith many folos.
Genimina viperarum, quis demonstravit vobis furorem
 ■ *ventura ira.*

The scapularie also
 that kevereth the schuldris,
 it bitokeneth boxumnesso
 dowe unto oure prelatis,
 and boxomly bere burthuns
 that they wole loyen upon us.
 Off the knottide girdel
 knowe I no mysterie;
 therfore what it meeneth
 axe frere menours.
 But, Jacke, amonge oure chatoryng,
 zit wolde I wite,
 whi that the Lollardis
 weren moost greye clothis;
 I trowe to shewe the colour
 that signefieth symplenesso,
 and withinne, soith Crist,
 3o ben ravenous wolves.
 ¶ Whi, seist thou, holde we more seilence
 in oon hous than another,
 sith over al a man is holden
 for to seie the goodo?
 To thi lewde question
 Salomon thus answerith,

*Est tacens sciens tempus apti temporis, et
 homo sapiens tacet usque ad tempus; tem-
 pus tacendi, tempus loquendi; et iterum,
 Sicut urbs patens et absque murorum am-
 bitu, ita qui in loquendo non potest co-
 hibere spiritum suum.*

¶ Zit, Dawe, me thynkith thou usist
 thi customale condicion,
 thou hast so lorned to lye,
 thou kanst not levo work,
 bot zit I am gladdo
 thou groundist the on the gospel.

Thus perfit seilens
 by scripture is approved.
 Jakke, if thou undirstonde no Latyn,
 go to thi parocho prest,
 and undir zou botho, with Goddis graco,
 marren ze wolen ful yvole.
 Whi also ete we no fleish
 in every hous ilicho,
 but chesen therto an hous,
 and leeven another?
 Jak, if every hous were honest
 to ete fleish inne,
 than were it honest
 to ete in a gonge.
 Whi is not thi tablo sett
 in thi cow-stalle?
 and whi etist thou not in thi shippen
 as wole as in thin halle?
 But al is good ynowz for thee,
 where that overo thou sittist.
 Whi with not thi cow make
 myry woder in thi dish?
 But, Jacko, in this mater
 appose thou the monkes;

Diabolus est andax, et pater ejus.
 The secte that thou seggist of,
 I wot, is Jhesu Cristis,
 tellen litil by clothing,
 bot now oon now other;
 thouz thou recuse the menours
 have I not to do,
 bot wel I wot ze ben alle drawn
 in oo maner draggee.
 Lewde Dawe, whi laist thou forthe
 so many blunt resoness?
 for Salomon spokith not of silence

for thei kopen this serimonio
more streiter than freris.

Moreover thou movest,

Jak, another mater ;

if oure patrouns be perfit,

and oure roule also,

whi renne we to Rome,

to be assoilid of the oth

that we han maad,

and be popis freris ?

Jak, summe remon to Rome,

but mo ther ben at hoom,

and dewli done her dever

astir that thei han chosen ;

and that the Lollardis

forthinken ful soore.

So wolden that there where oon lessor,

so have nevero tale,

that so myzten have your rayke

and prechon what you list,

and with your privy pestilence

enpoison the peple.

• Jak, that Judas was a shrowe, •

what was Crist the worse ?

and so that summe ben exempt,

propirde to an house,
bot of silence in iche place
in tyme and in reson.

Bot the cursid ypocrisie
of etyng of your fleshe,
shuld iche man despise
for your rotun rawle,
and so thes similitudes,
with thes solucioncs,
ben not worthe
the devellis dirt, Dawé.

and rennon to your rilis,
and summo bi apostasie
ben Sathanas servauntis,
whi shulde owre patrouns
be over the lasse perfit?

¶ "Fferther more whi make ze you
"■ men dede?
"sith in begginge ze ben us quie
"as ben ony other,
"and unsemele it is
"to see deed men legge."

Jak, me thinkith thou lornedist nevere
of Poulis pistlis,

whiche in ■ fowe shorte wordes
answerith to thi sentence,

*Quasi morientes et ecce vivimus; glossa, quasi
morientes, i. de vitio in vitium secundum
opinionem aliquorum, et ecce vivimus in
bonis operibus in rei veritate.*

So thouz we ben deed to the world,

after thin opynyon,

zit is oure soule in the bodi

and grace in the soule.

"Whi," seist thou, "suffie ze not your children

¶ Daw, thi wordes ben many,
and ever medled with venym;
for azenes gode men
steeche Jus malice,
no non of thilk Cristis seete
that myn callist,
bot azenes heritikes,
bostores and liors,
whiche han chosen hem a rould
with blabberers of Baal;
and zit shal tyde the tyme
whon Josie shal regne,

" to come into your conseil,
 " if it be good and able,
 " and afür Goddis lawe?"
 A, Jak, mafey, me merveillith moche
 of thin lewidheed!
 Heirdist thou nevero how Crist was
 transfigurid in the hil,
 and ther to his privyté he chees
 but three apostlis,
 forbedinge hem to telle
 that conceil any farther,
 and so were there nyne
 fro that conceil refusid.
 Crist also took to him
 alle his twelve apostlis,
 and tretide of his passioun
 in rízt privy manor,
 and the rude peple that folowiden
 knewe no thing thêrof.
 Shal we, Jak, therfore seie
 his conceil was not able,
 suspect and not good
 confourmed to Goddis lawe.
 Another cause resonable

and make an ende of suche fondes,
 and Cristis roulo shal renue.
 Zee, Jamnes and Mambres
 japid not so the kyng,
 as thou with thi cursid secte
 the kyng and the puple.
Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos
in vestimentis ovium.
 I til thee, Daw, without dout,
 thes wordes ben said of zou,
 with other pregnant prophecies
 of Peter and of Poulo.

me thinkith I can telle,
 for counceill owith to be kept
 and not to be clatrid;
 and children ben ay clatringo,
 as thou wel knowest.
 Another skil may be groundid
 of Salomons sawis;
 to him he seith that is wiis
 it longith to kepe conceil;
 and children ful soldum
 ben foundun wiis.
 Jak, wolt thou telle thi knave
 as myche as thi wyf?
 ¶ Fforthermore thou spokest
 of oure costli houses;
 thou seist it were more almes
 to helpen the neddy,
 than to make sich housyngs
 to men that ben dedde,
 to whiche longith but graves
 and mornyngs housis.
 Jak, is not a man better
 than a rude best?
 Zit makist thou to thi sheep a shoper,

¶ Daw, thou laborist fast
 to lede thi self to helle,
 and blyndist many lowde foler
 with thi stynging brethe;
 for bi this apis argument
 that thou here now ratelist,
 he that drynkith a quart wyne
 most nedis drynk ■ galon.
 Bot aȝen house in measure, Dawe,
 grueche I riȝt nouȝt;
 and thouȝ thou sayo ■ scorne,
 a shepe house I have,

and to thi hors a stable;
 and many a pore man ther is
 that hath noon hillyng,
 but oonly heven is his hous,
 the bestes stond kevered.
 Whi houses thou not pore men
 as welo as thi beestis?
 Take hede to sumwhat
 that is seid biforen,
 and thou answeere to my question,
 answer to thin owne.
 Thou carpist also of oure coveitise,
 and sparist the solhe;
 thou seist we ben more ryal
 than ony lordis.

Coventis have wee noon, Jack,
 but cloistors we ben callid,
 ffoundid afor with charite,
 or that he wore flemyd;
 but sith ontride envie,
 and renyd hath oure houses,
 that unnothes the hillinge
 hangith on the sparres;
 and 3it thou thinkist hem over good,
 yvel fare thou therfore!

that hath more grounde in Goddis lawe
 than alle 3our Caymes castelles;
 I thank God, I beldid it
 with trwe bygoten gode.
 Bot 3o 3oures with beggery,
 bargenyng and robberye;
 ffor grounde have thal non,
 bot if it be here.

*Non habemus hic manentem civitatem. Et idem, Væ
 qui ædificatis civitatem in sanguinibus. Et, Væ
 qui conjugatis domum ad domum.*

Jak, where saw thou ever fere houses,
 thourzout the rowme,
 liche in ony rialte
 to the Toure of Londoun,
 to Wyndesore, to Wodestoke,
 to Wallingforde, to Shene,
 to Herforde, to Eltham,
 to Westmynster, to Dover?
 How maist thou for rebukynge
 lye so lowde,
 to saye that oure conelise
 passith the lordes?
 But so longe, by my leude,
 thou hast lerned to lye,
 that thi tonge is letteroun of lyes,
 thou lettest for no shame.

¶ We leten, thou seist, to lymytours
 al this rewme to ferme,
 as that we were weldors
 and lordes of alle.
 Unsikir thing sothill
 it were to sette to ferme,
 and foolcs were the formores
 to taken it to tax.
 I trowe thou menys the pardounys
 of seint Thomas of Acre,
 of Antoun, or of Ramevale,

¶ Sit, Dawe, thouz thou accussent
 pardoneres that ben fals,
 thou lovest lesse a trewe prout
 than thou dost hem alle,
 ffor that gon heere 3ou apostatys
 in gilyng of the puple.
 Bot that 3e ferme to limitours,
 it maye be deuved.

that rennen so fast aboute ;
 for of the kynges rowme
 have we no more astate,
 than thou hast of paradis,
 or of the blisse of heven,
 for the which y trowe thou maist
 of hasilwode singe.
 Why, seist thou, paye 30 to no talinge
 to oure cristen kyng,
 sith Crist paiede tribut
 to the hethene emperour ?
 Jak, of no dewté ne of no dette
 paide Crist noo tribute ;
 but conliche of mekenesse
 performyng the lawe,
 and for to fleeen occasioun
 of aftirward speching,
 whan that afore Pilat
 he shuld be forjugid
 But aftir the scripture,
 preesthode shulde not paien
 to tax ne to talinge
 with the comun peple.
 For whan the folk of Israel
 were put under servage,
 Pharao suffride preestes
 in her former fredome
 to be saved and susteyned

'lye Thou never so lowde,
 and therto sello a sole,
 hote thus with many false meenes
 oppresso the cuntries.
 Bot as to payng of tribut,
 as Crist hym self did,
 thou lykist 30 to Pharaos,

of the comoun store.
 But now is the complaynt
 of Jeremy trewe,
 the prince of provynces
 sugette is under tribute.
 Not for thanne the comun lawe
 may wel suffren,
 that preesthode may paye
 bi assent of prelatis,
 steele of her owne wille
 no thing constreyned,
 and thus prelatis and persons
 assir her state,
 ben stended to paie
 what that nede askith;
 but neither fieres ne annellers,
 save now late.
 God woot, it worshipith not
 to beggen of beggers.
 Off lettris of brotherhood
 also, Jak, thou spekest,
 and wounders that we wymmen noon
 of pore men and of preestis;
 and zit ze desiren that every man
 shulde have zour;
 of pore mennes proieris
 to be parteners we wolden,
 and of her lettris and of her sele,
 if autentike, thoi weren.

and ■ ze ben and werse.

Azones Cristes paying
 and alle other mekonis,
 thou autorisest zour pride,
 azones his holi werken.

Qui ■ est mecum, contra me est; et qui non
 colligit mecum, dispergit.

But of your preestis pater-nosters
 we desiren noon,
 for comunliche her blake bedes
 thei dolen to freris;
 ¶ but thei shal cleve unto, thi chekes,
 and Cristis curso also,
 as wysly ■ we holde us
 not more perfit than ony other,
 ne non suffragies selle
 for a corteyn bi zere,
 ne maken men more perfit
 than her blessid baptismo;
 ffor praier may not satyllyn
 but oonliche on them alle,
 and so that gilden trontols
 that thou spekist of,
 that now is purchasid of preestis
 out of freris hondis,
 delyverith noo soules
 out of the poyne of helle,
 ne purgon may of purgatory,
 but as it is deserved.
 Ffor charite is the mesure
 that demoth that meyned.
 Also thou soist, Jak,
 that we men enformen
 that oure holy abite
 shulde holpen men fro helle,

¶ Dawe, I seide first to thee
 oon of thi groundes was eirsyng,
 whare autorisist thou this lewde . . .
 answered now.
 Thi resonos ben a staf of rede
 that litzly person the honde,
 I mervel that thou, a clerk,
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and nameliche tho that be
 beried therinne ;
 and Cristis clothis dide not so,
 ne noon of the apostlis.
 Jak, that frere was over lowid
 that lernede tho this lossoun,
 or on thi feul fantasie
 thou faynyst this fable.
 Ffor Austyns no prechours
 proponen no sihe pointis.
 Whether the Carmes of her copes
 mayntenen sihe an errour,
 or whether saint Fraunce
 hath geten to his habite
 that vertu be his grace,
 witterly me no wote.
 But wel I wote that Cristis cloith
 helide a womman
 ffrom the longe fluxe of blood,
 ■ the gospel tellith ;
 but his predestinacion
 may onlich save soules,
 and his prevy presciens
 may dampne whom him list.
 Jak, ferthermore of felony
 thou felly us onpechest,
 of stelyng of children,

blaberist thus blyndely.
 Thou takest comynly no grounde
 of Crist ne of his lawe,
 bot apr the pope
 ■ if he were thi God,
 or of other fantasies
 that han no grounde hom self ;

to drawe hem to oure sectis,
 To tillo folk to God-ward,
 I holde it no theft,
 but if thou calle Crist a theof,
 that dide the same,
 sayyng to the riche man,
 " Go and selle thi goodis,
 " and zif hem to the pore,
 " zif thou wole be perfit;
 " and aftirward folowo me,
 " and be my disciple."
 And in the same gospel
 so what he seith also:
 " Whoso forsakoth not
 " his fadir and his modir,
 " his sone and his douztir,
 " his sistir and his brother,
 " his lond and his tenementes,
 " and him selven also,
 " he nys not worthi
 " to ben my folower."
 And to his twelfe chosen
 ofisoones he seide,
 " Behold, from the world
 " I have chosen zou alle,
 " that ze gon and beren fruyte,
 " and zour fruyte may dwellyn."

ffor whi shuld not alle prestes
 be make after Crist,
 in payng of tribut
 and alle other werkis?
 Daw, late thi falso glose,
 it drivith thee to the dovel.
Benedicite et nolite maledicere.

¶ And thus to reven the world,
 and spoilen him of his persouns,
 it ne is no robbery,
 but Crist approved thesle.
 Thou seist also ferthormore
 that prestis shul not onprisoun,
 ffor it nys not foundid
 in al Goddis lawe,
 but undermyn bi charité,
 and so wynnyn her brother,
 and zif he wil not be so wonnen,
 have him ■ hothene ;

¶ Lo, Dawo, with thi draffe,
 thou liest on the gospel ;
 ffor Crist said it hym self,
 " The vertu passid fro me."
 And here thou maist see,
 I knowe ■ b fro a hole fote ;
 ffor I caceho thee in lesynges
 that thou laist on the gospel.
 Bot thus to stole a childo
 is a gretter theft,
 than to stole an axe,
 for the theft is more.
 Dawo, for thou saist zo robbo
 him fro the worlde ;
 zo maken hym more worldly
 than over his fadri ;
 Zoo, thowz he were a plowman,
 lyvyng trwo lys, yo robbo hym
 fro the trwo roule,
 and maken hym apostata,
 a begger and a sodomit ;
 for sucho thai ben many.
Vae vobis qui facitis unum proselytum ! supple, filium
Gehennæ duplo quam vos.

and thus bi thin opynyon
no man shulde be onprisound.
But, Jakko, in thi frensy,
thou sonnest more and more,
thou wenyst to make to me ■ dieue,
thou fallist thi silf therinne.
¶ For if thou pursue thi purpos,
thou assentist thi silf in tresoun,
menusynge the kyngis majesté,
privyng him of his power.
¶ For if we taken the gospel
aftir the monyngo,
nether emperour ne kyng
may honge ne drawe,
heved ne onprisoun,
no haunte no domes,
but al in fair manere
shulen ben undirnomen,
and who wil not amenden him,
3eve him the brydil;
and be robberis and revers,
mansloeris and treytours,
and al maner mawfesours
shulden ben unponnishid.
Jak, the pope hath a prisoun,
the bishop of Cantirbury,
and of Londoun also,
and many other bishopis,
by leeve of her kyng;

¶ Daw, I do thes wel to wite,
frentike am I not;
bot it semith thi sotil witte
marrith many man.
Bot how stondith this togedir,
3e sle men in 3our prison?

art thou hardy to seien
 it is not Goddis lawe.
 But y blame thee not gretli,
 thouz thou bere hom hevy;
 ffor goldsmythis of thi crafte
 ofte haveth hom haunted,
 and zit thoi shulen oster,
 bi the helpe of hevon.
 Also thou seist no sacrament
 we covelyn no desiren,
 but shrift and biryyug,
 that longoth to the populo.
 Alas, Jak, for shame!
 whi art thou so fals,
 ffor to reverse thi silf
 in thin owne sawes?
 Thou seidist in thi begynnynge,
 whan thou seidist of frees,
 thoi sellen seven sacramentes
 with Symoundis oyris;
 and now that we coveite noon
 but the sacrament of schriste.
 Ffor boriyng is no sacrament,
 but an almes-dede.
 Thou jawdewyne, thow jangler,
 how stande this togider,
 by verré contradiccion
 thou concludist thi silf,
 and bryngest thee to the mato

ze have 3our conspiracios,
 when 3e godo likith,
 ze damme the trwe, 3e hyen the falso,
 deme, Dawe, wher this be gode.
 And the kyng by his juges trwe

there I wolde have thee.
 Who wolde take entent
 to sucho wroches wordes,
 that nevere more zeveth tale
 to be take with a lesyng?
 Whi, axist thou ferthermore,
 wil we not shryven
 ne birien the pore
 ■ wel as the riche,
 and do other dedes of almes
 done at her nede?
 But if we schryve not the pore,
 whi ben perssons so wrothe,
 and paroche proestes also,
 for schryvyng of her paishens?
 For every Lenten ■ azen
 thei aleggen the lawe
 off *omnis utriusque secus*,
 with the favourable glooses.
 But, Jak, do thi won,
 and lette not to lyene;
 I have as leof thy leeing
 as thi soth saw.
 Ifor who is oonis suspect,
 he is half honged.
 Thou seis that wo prechen
 fallace and fables,
 and not Goddis gospel
 to good undirstondinge;

exeoute his lawe,
 as he did now late,
 whan he hangid zou traytours;
 wilt thou, Dawe, allegates
 compere zou to the kyng,
 or to other lordes,

and we ben more holdun therto
 than to alle other roulis,
 For we wynnen more therwith
 than Crist and his apostlis,
 what we ben holdun
 and wil not forsake.
 For moche of oure lyvyng
 is of the gospel;
 so dide Poul
 and other disciples,
 and lyvede of colectis
 made genorali bi churchis,
 for sustenance of prechours,
 and also of the pore.
 And if thou love not me,
 loke Poulis pistlis,
 and the glose therwith,
 and there thou shalt fynde it.

*Quis, inquit, militat, suis stipendiis unquam?
 Et iterum, Dominus ordinavit ut qui
 evangelium annunciant de evangelio
 vivere.*

And so to his prechours
 Crist also thus seide,

*In quamcunque domum intraveritis, manete
 in eadem edentes et bibentes, etc., dignus
 est enim operarius mercede sua. Ut aut
 Romanos, Probaverunt Macedones et Achaia
 collationem facere in pauperes sanctorum
 qui sunt in Jerusalem.*

that han her grounde in God?
 Lefe, fole, thi losengorie,
 and studie Cristis lyf.

*Quæ conventio Christi ad Bellial? Quid communi-
 cabit cacabus ad ollam?*

Azens that that thou saist that we prechen
 but fallace and fables,
 and leve the gospel
 that mosto us al save,
 loke that every werke is knowen,
 plenili bi his eende,
 and so the peple hath the pathes
 of feith and of bileve,
 and God wooto freres prechingo
 hath wrouzt to this ende.

¶ Daw, hou maist thou saye for shame
 that Crist stale thus childre,
 and Poulo beggid as ȝe don,
 ȝe lyven bi the gospel?
 ȝee, Dawe, ȝe sollo derrere
 lesynges and poyson,
 than over did Poulo
 alle his holy writyng;
 ever thou likynest ȝou to Crist,
 whan ȝe ben verrei Antierist.
 And if bisshopes byside wel to knowe
 alle ȝour dedes,
 thai founde ȝou werso than harlotes,
 or jogulours other;
 flor ȝe beggo or ȝe precho
 many tymes and oft,
 somen men and threten hem,
 bot if thai ȝif ȝou gode.
 Bot the harlot wil drawe
 the blode of his arse,
 or he ask any gode,
 or any rewardo.
 And, Dawe, truly ȝour dedes
 contrarie Crist.

*Mordent dentibus et prædicant pacem, et si quis non
 dederit in ore eorum quippiam, sanctificant super
 eum praelium.*

But ȝe han cast cursidly
 Cristendome to distroye,
 and of Cristis gospel
 make Machometis lawe,
 aȝens whom with opin mouth
 othor while we romee,
 and sum tyme bryngo ȝou til a bay
 if God wil it graunte.
 For this cause ȝe calle us
 bastard branchis,
 pursuyng preestes to prisoun
 and to fire also ;
 ¶ but, Jak, thoi ben bastard braunches
 that launchen from oure bileve,
 and writhyn wrongli away
 from holy chirehe techinges,
 sicke beren yvel fruyte
 and soure to alaston,
 worthi to noon othor good,
 but in the fire to brenne ;
 and so for to pursue an heretike
 to fire or to prisoun,
 I holde it more holsum
 than to halowe a chirehe,
 inprisonynge of the poyson
 that mortherith many soulis,

¶ Daw, here thou blabрист togedir
 falsenes and trouthe ;
 for a bastarde is he
 that holdith aȝens the sothe.
 God and trwe men discussen
 wher that be ȝe or I.
 Ffor if thou seyst holi chirehe
 the techyng of Crist,
 the reules of apostles,
 the lyf of hem alle,

after Cristis doctrine
in the holy gospel.

*Omnis, inquit, arbor quæ non fert fructum
bonum, excidetur, et in ignem mittetur.
Et iterum, Qui non manserit in me, mit-
tetur foras sicut palmes, et arescet, et col-
ligent, et in ignem mittetur.*

Disseverynge you from the tree
that is Crist him silfe.
But how shulden freres
pursue heresie,
and many of hem wite not
what heresie meneth.

Jak, I am not lettered,
but I am frere Dawe,
and can telle wel a fyn
what heresie amounteth ;
heresie, that is Grw,
is divisioun on Latyn,
the whiche in oure langage
meneth sunderyng and partyng.

Ho thanne that sundrith him
from Crist and his chirche,
and frely forgith sentences
contrarious to oure feith,
siche manere of forgers
heretikes we callen,
and also her felowis

I summitte me to hom,
and wil wile I lyve.
If thou callist, Dawe,
your Dominikis reules,
with determinacion
of many false prestes,
holi chirche, ■ I wene,
as oft thou hast done,

taken the same name,
 and her sory sentences
 ben clepid heresies,
 but namely when thei ben holdun
 of obstinat hertis
 And I shal this mater
 more largely declare.
 Sixe maner of heretikes
 ben foundun in the lawe.
 For he is callid an heretiko
 that rasith oure bileve;
 and he is callid an heretiko
 that heresies sowith,
 ■ Arrians, Wyelyfanes,
 Sabellyanes, and other;
 and the corruptours of scripturis
 heretikes ben holdun,
 that other wise undirstondin
 than the Holi Goost teachith.
 Also we copen hem heretikes,
 that sacramentis sollyn,
 or ben from hem dividid
 bi cursynge of the chirche.
 He is also an heretiko
 that doutith our bilove,
 and with a litil evydonce
 goith out of the waye.
 And also an heretiko

I forsake the for ever,
 with this cursid chirche,
Odivi ecclesiam malignantium.
 If thou purposist to pursuwe
 and drawe ■■■■ to dothe,
 I marvel not meche,
 for it is thin office.
 The fadires of heres,

him shulde we holde
 that distrieth privyleges
 grauntid of the popo.
 This sixe maners
 put Hostiensis in his Summe,
 and if this sentence be soth,
 y can noon other seien,
 but thou and thi secte
 ben heretikes allo.

Jak, thou spekist ferthermore
 of messis and of preires,
 and askist what we sellen,
 wen we seyen oure mессo,
 whether the sacrament,
 our preieres, or our travaile;
 and if ony of this we done,
 thou arguest a greet errour.
 Jak, unto this questioun
 on wyso may be answerith,
 aflir that seint Austyn
 spekith of the apostlis.
 The apostlis a soye
 resoyved freely her brood
 of hem that freely
 token her teehinge;
 and so, Jak, freely graunto
 we our mессo
 to hem that freely
 3even us her almesso,

whiche were the Pharisees,
 pursuwed Crist to the paynful dothe,
 3o, callid hym a blasfeme,
 ■ 3o clogen hem hoitlikes
 that holde a3enes 3our falschode,
 allo if that men truthe.
Et vos implete mensuram patrum vestrorum.

and synnen no wyse
 bi noon other vice,
 to selle no sacramentis
 no spiritual preier.
 And thus among freres
 gotte thei no logginge,
 but bete hem to gretter men
 and geten her herbegago,
 of patronis of chirchis,
 or privyly with preestes,
 wiche to fette benefices
 wolde be promotid.
 ¶ Jak, I suppose
 That my labour y selle,
 what wil thou seio therto,
 do y ony symonye?
 How than shal the persons soye
 that setten her chirches to forme,
 that ben more spiritual
 than bodili travaile;
 and these parochie preestes
 that ministren the sacramentis,
 for a corten sawd bi ȝoor
 of ten mark or of twelfe;

¶ Daw, thou hast lorned
 so long to lye,
 thou wonnest thou snist soth
 whan thou liest most lowde,
 and schlauderist the trithe.
 Thou saidist thou were no lottred man,
 thou prevest thi self fals,
 for thou spokist of lorarchies,
 of herisies also;
 thou art gilty in alle thes poyntes,
 and thi brother bothe,
 that I wolde prove apertly,

and al these annuellers
 that syngen for a tyme,
 takyng for her traveil
 as thei may acorde;
 but thei can answeere for hem silf,
 and we shal for us.
 Another mater ther is meved,
 that touchith begging;
 thou seist that we falsly
 Crist him silf disclaundren,
 to seie that he beggid,
 sith he was lord of al,
 and al in his demeyns.

if that the tyme suffrid.
 Lok 3our lyvyng, 3our prechyng,
 with other opun dedes,
 and laye it by the apostles lyf,
 and so how thai acorde,
 and as I wene the Holigost
 apprevoth nother nouter.
 Mo thynkith 3e ben tapstours,
 in alle that 3e don;
 3e tappo 3our absoluciones
 that 3e bye at Rome,
 3our prechyng, 3our praying,
 and also 3our beryings.
 Bot thou accusist other
 that han bot the mote
 in the comparison
 of alle 3our gret synnes.
Hypocrita, ejice primo trabem de oculo tuo.
 Dawe, 3e folowen Crist,
 as groyhounde doth the hare;
 for as God 3af kyng Saule
 in his wodenes,
 so 3e ben clokkid out
 to pursuwe holi chirche.
Periculum in falsis fratribus.

¶ But for this mater, Jacke,
 thou most undirstonde,
 that Crist in his godhede
 is lord of alle thingis,
 ■ testimonie of Scripture
 proveth in many places ;
 ■ touching his manhood
 he was nedi and pore,
 for of his nede spake
 David in his psalmes.

*Ego, inquit, mendicatus sum et pauper, et Do-
 minus sollicitus est mei.*

And after Austin and Jerom
 this word of Crist was seid,
 so thanno these tway
 stonden wel togidere,
 that Crist after oo kynde
 was lord of alle,
 and after that othor

¶ Zit, Dawo, thou drawist in
 many fals promptlynges,
 for to hirt symple men,
 bot mo never a del ;
 for Crist in his membres
 beggid ful oft,
 for synne of the puple,
 when thai were at mischof.
 Bot as sucho holde beggers
 in bodily holo,
 begged never Crist,
 no non of his membres ;
 for Crist, that is truthe,
 may in ■ wise
 contrarie him self
 no God that is his fadir ;
 for in many places
 thai damnen sucho sturdy beggyng,
 And, so, Dawo, thou detest,

nedide to begge.

For if Crist scie soth,
him silf ne hadde noon harborow,
to resten in his owne heed,
and steken out the stormes.

Vulpes, inquit, etc., ubi caput suum reclinat.

And if we shulen ȝeve credence
to doctours wordes,
heere what seith saint Jerom,
and saint Bernard also.

*Oave, inquit Jeronimus, ne mendicante Deo tuo
alienas divitias augeas; et Bernardus. Ut
te, Domine, per omnia nostræ paupertati
conformares, quasi unus in turba pauperum
stipem per hostia mendicabas.*

Wherfore thou feynest fonnedly

alleggyng the wator,
the asse, or the herberowe;
for he was lordo of alle,
and so thou mysse takist Jerom,
and lyst on Bernarde,
for Alredo his clerke
wrote his reson,
that thou mysse layst,
and dokkist it as the likist.
Herfor a clerke saith,
that ovel mot he spede,
that beggith of the puple .
more than is nede.

Mendax mendicatus non est veritatis amicus.

Nutantes transferantur filii ejus et mendicent.

God gif the grace to knowe how
thou art Judas childe;
whiche psalme thou loggist to me,
as to an ovel entent;
for ȝit thou schuldest be damned
softly in helle,

Nutantes transferentur filii.

that oure Lord we schlaundre;
 or ellis oure holy doctours
 diden not her dever.
 Jak, have no morvoyle
 that y speke Latyn,
 for oones I was a manciplo
 at Mertoun halle,
 and there y lernede Latyn
 by roote of clerkes.
 Of clamourus also begging
 thou chatorist and criist,
 and seist it is uttirli
 forbodun in Goddis lawe.
 ¶ Jak, the blynde bogger
 sat bi the weye,
 and lowde criede uppon Crist,
 as the gospel tellith;
 but him was zovun ize-sizt,
 for al his grote noyse,
 and also the pore man
 at the specious zale
 praiede to the apostlis
 to parten of her almes;
 and ther the begger unreproved
 of crokidnesse he was heolid.

¶ Thou flaillest much brothe, Daw,
 with legyng of thi tyxtes;
 for summe thou legest kenely
 to a fals entente;
 but of otheer thou blundyrest
 as a blynde buserde.
 For thes pore of whom thou spokyst,
 myzt not helpe hem selfe;
 but zome prowde lonengerie
 that runn abowt as snok-drawers
 ben neyther pore ne fabil,
 and so jure thou
 how ill to acorde.

I forzete not the lazar
 that beggide of the riche,
 and eriede lowde at his zate
 to cachen his almes.
 Where redist thou that he was
 ropreved of his begging?
 I rede wel he was ful soone
 in Abrahams bosum.
 Thou makist also more ado
 for writing in oure tablis
 of sich mennes names
 that zeven us her almes,
 "Wenyng that God were a fool,
 "not knowinge mennes dedes,
 "but if he were mengid
 "bi weie of zour writyng."
 ¶ Jak, writyng was ordeyned
 for slipernes of mynde,
 not of God, but of ■ men,
 hirt in oure nature,
 and bi bodili buystounsnesse
 fallen to forzetyngo.
 Now special proier,
 as clerkes seien,

¶ Zit, Dawe, thou hewist hye,
 and puttist thi mouthe in heven;
 thi tong likkith the chesofat,
 and the garner also,
 and the pore wedowes porse,
 thowz she have bot a pany.
 And Zit, Dawe Dotypolle,
 thou justifiest this harlotrie;
 whi lykkennest thou writyng of names,
 which thou dost for money,
 to the holi scripture,
 that is our bileve?
 If for God no any godeman

moste helpeth the soulis,
 and that may not be done
 withouten special mynde.
 Thanne for oure forzotfulnesse
 it nedith us to noten,
 and this is cause whi
 we writun in oure tablis.
 And Esdras wroot a newe book,
 to have the lawe in mynde.
 To seint Joon in the Apocalips
 it was bodun also,
 that privy revolacion
 to writun in his book,
 for unstabilnesse of mynde,
 soith the comoun glose.
 "Whi," also thou axist,
 "make ze ■ many maistris,
 "azons Cristis bidding
 "in the holi gospol?"
 For sothe, Jak, among other,
 this is a lowid question.
 Taking heed to thin astate,
 thou art but a knave,
 and zit thou lokist that thi knave

approved never this symonye;
 but thou approvest 3our capped maistres
 with a glasen glose,
 whiche galpen after grace
 bi symonye 3our sister,
 and after sitten on his dece
 and glasen lordes and ladies.
 And this is no liknes
 bitwix my knave and hem;
 for of thos and sucho it ben
 that Crist speeth in his gospel.

*Amant enim primos recubitus in cœnis, et primas
 cathedras in synagogis, et vocari ab hominibus
 Rabbi.*

shulde calle thee maistir.
 Leve Jacke Jawdewyn,
 how kepist thou the gospel?
 Nevertheles to thi question
 answerith the comoun glose,
 that neithir the acte of teching,
 neither the acte of maistir,
 ben forbodun of Crist,
 but oonli ambicion,
 and the nyce appetite
 of worldly worship.

Thou askist also ferthermore,
 whos ben alle oure jewels;
 and we seyen we han riȝt nouȝt
 in propre ne in comoun,
 but gederen the goodos of the rewme
 to make the pope riche.
 Jak, the foure and twentithe pope
 Joon wroot aȝens this mater,
 and frere monours aȝens him,
 as her actis shewen.
 Examyno her actis
 and loke who hath the beter,
 and knowe noon other ordre
 this perfitnesse approveth.
 ¶ Thou gruechist also that we gon
 two of us togider;

¶ Daw, thou herdist me not gruecho
 that ȝe went two togedir;
 for otherwhilo ȝe gon three,
 a womman is that oon.
 Bot whether ȝe go two or oon,
 if ȝe wol do wele,
 it were ■ gret joye to me,
 God wol the sothe.
 Bot wel I wote that charité
 may not duelle there,

for of the porfit apostlis
 wenten but oone aloone.
 Thou seist that we pretenden
 the perfeccioun of apostlis.
 Parfay, Jak, in scripturo
 thou failist here ful foule,
 herdest thou nevere the processe
 of the actis of the apostlis,
 in what maner the Holi Goost
 chees Bernabé and Poulo,
 to gone bothe togidore,
 and Cristis seed to sowun;
 and aftirward whan Bernabas
 from Poul was departid,
 another felowe, Tymothé,
 toke Poul to his soere.
 And zit thei weren porfit
 bi fastinge and bi preieris,
 and ressoyved haddo the Holi Goost
 bi the apostlis hondis.
 And thus we gon two togider,
 folwinge her stappis;
 but more for the mysterio
 includid in the nounibre,
 for to bi workes of charité
 fulfilling the lawe;
 and two tablis of Moises

where covetise cropith in,
 and lecherie is loggid.
 Therfor, Dawe, alleggo thou
 no figur for thin ordre,
 bot if it be Zambro
 with Corhy his lothy,
 or Jamnos and Mambres,
 Pharaouso steros.

*Illi sunt qui penetrant domos, et ducunt mulierculas
 oneratus peccatis.*

there the lawe was writun;
 and two chorubyns in the temple,
 and two in the tabernacle.
 It was not good to Adam
 for to be aloone;
 and Crist seith woo to sool
 in aventure that he falle.
 Also for fraternité
 ful harde thou us holdist,
 to graunt part of merit,
 and also of messis,
 bicause that we witen not whether
 that we ben in grace or in synne,
 and happili for we praien for suche
 that ben dampned in helle.
 Jak, if this cause were good,
 al preier were reproved,
 and thanne were set at nouzt
 bothe messe and matynes,
 and holy bedis and orisons
 seid in holi chirche.
 ¶ Thanne shulde we leve Cristis bede,
 the holy pater-noster.
 Thanne was the memento
 put fally in the masse,
 and hooli chirche voidli
 or madli biddith preye,
 and alle siche zonge impossibilitées
 folowen therof.

¶ Thou argust, Topias, wonderly,
 as if thou were an asse;
 for thou legest zoure selde bedys to the pater-noster,
 that Crist him solve made;
 but wel I wote that alle ze
 gate never a pony,

For who is that that knowith him self
 worthi for to preien,
 but God bi revelacion
 specially wolde it shewe;
 for noman, seith the scripture, woot,
 whether he is worthi love,
 or ellis maugree but God
 it only knowith.

And who can telle fethermore
 whiche shulde be dampned,
 sith Goddis privy domes
 man may not comprehend;
 and ■ shal noman preie for other,
 no noman for him self.

Jak, so now thin errour,
 and sum tyme sesse for shame;
 for thou jangelist as a jay,
 and woost not what thou meenest.
 Moreover thou monest multiplieng
 of so many froris,
 whiche encreasen combrouseli,
 agens Goddis wille;
 sith preostis with other religius
 myzte serve the peple,
 for twelve apostlis and sawe moo
 serveden al the world,
 and no fyngris on myn hond
 than foure and the thombo

with the pater-noster,
 but with 3oure famulorum,
 that 3o sey is beter,
 3o gole many poundes,
 For Crist made that one,
 for better may none be;
 but 3o with 3oure ypocresy
 han autorised that other,

amonusith my worching
 more than it acresith;
 and so thou seist that freris letten
 Cristis growingo into heven.
 Jacke, thou weenest thou wyne lond,
 but thou concludist thi silf;
 thou seist that God alle thingis hath maad
 in mesure, weiȝte, and nounge,
 and that every frere is sum thing,
 thou maist not denye,
 and thou seist freris ben maad
 aȝons Goddis wille.
 Than hath God maad sum thing
 that he wolde not make,
 and so his sovereyne goodnesse
 is contrarious to him silfe.
 Lo, Jakke Jospinel,
 what folowith of thi sawis.
 Jakke, if thouȝ a fewe meo
 myȝte serven al the world,
 thanne myȝte a fewe preestes
 serven a litil rewme.
 Whi renne thanne these ȝonge clerkes
 so faste to the ordres,
 to encreasen preestes
 above mony hundridis?
 And if freris ben combrouse,

to blynde with the pupyl
 for ȝoure cursed groundo,
 and thou God made al thinge in mesure and in
 wyȝte,
 as the scripturo seythe,
 it folowth not he made ȝou,
 for ȝe ben oute of mesure,
 and so the devyl and Caym
 with Judas ben ȝoure sadirs.

preostis ben wel more ;
 or ellis telle a beter skil
 thanne thou hast begunne,
 whi the toon is chargeaunt
 more than the tother.
 Also the ensauple of thin hond
 is no thing to purpos ;
 for kynde hath determyned
 the noumbro of thi syngis,
 and if it passe noumbro,
 it is clepid monstruosité ;
 but God and holi chirche
 determyned noo noumbro
 of preostis ne of freris
 to helpen mannis soule.
 For the mo good ther ben,
 the better is Cristis spouse ;
 and thouz sewer myzten
 done that nedis,
 zit many hondis togidre
 maken lizt werk.

■ Another mater thou mocest, Jak,
 moost to be chargid,
 of the solompne sacrament
 of Cristis owne bodye,
 conteyned in figure of bredde,
 sacrificio for synne ;
 thou drawist ■ thorn out of thi holo,
 and puttist it in oure.

¶ Of, Dawe, in thi writtyng,
 thou wyngist out contradiccion ;
 but zit thou puttist default to prestes,
 ■ erst thou didist to curates.
 I wol that ben defectif,
 bot zit stonlith Cristis religion,
 of whose default I dont not, Dawe,
 zo ben the chel cause.

Thou berist us on honde that we seien
 ther is not Cristis bodye,
 but roundnesse and whitenesse,
 and accidout withouten sugot.
 Jak, we seio with holy chirche,
 that ther is Cristis bodi,
 and not material breed
 with Wiclyf ȝour maistir,
 the whiche put ther but ■ ■ figure,
 and not verré Cristis bodi,
 after a manere spekyng
 that holy chirche usith,
 as we clepen Crist a stoon,
 a lomb, and a lioun,
 and noon of these is Crist,
 but oonli in figure.
 This heresie holde not we,
 but ȝe his false folowers,
 privyly ■ ȝe doren,
 and opinli ȝe wolden,
 no wero the sharp ponishinge
 of ȝour former fadirs.

Bi this it suwit not God,
 bot Sathanas brouȝt ȝou in.
 Thou saist, Dawo, as thou folist,
 that there is Cristes body;
 bot I assermo faithfully
 that that is Cristis body;
 Daw, aske thi cappid maistres,
 ■ if thai wero heritlikes,
 what is the sacred host,
 and grounde hem in scripture,
 to whiche we knele and doffe our hodes,
 and don alle this wirchip,
 and I bilove that oste sacred,
 whiche is bothe whit and rounde,
 is verrei Cristis body,

And now I will theu telle
 the freris *confiteor*,
 touching to this sacrament,
 how that thei biloven.
 Thei soie breed is turned into fleish,
 and wyne into blood,
 thourz the myzt of oure God,
 and vertue of his wordis;
 the fleish is mete, the blood is drynke,
 and Crist dwellith [therin],
 no thing rasyd, no thing dividid,
 but oonli brokon in signe,
 and as moche is in oo partie
 as is al the hole;
 thus levoth not of the breed,
 but oonli the licensse,
 which that abidith therinne
 noon substeyned substans.
 It is cloth to the yvel,
 lyf to good encreasing of oure grace.
 It wole not be confect
 but oonli of a preest,

as men shuld bilove,
 and did to the tyme
 that Sathanas was unbounde.
 The witnessse of this reason
 is Crist and his apostles,
 with many holi doctouris
 of the thousande yere.
 Bot this 30 falsely forsake,
 with alle 3our secte, or many,
 and blyndon the puple with heresie,
 and loven Goddis lawe;
 for 3o sayen ther is Cristis body,
 and nouzt that sacred host.
Commulaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium.

that lawfulli is ordeyned
 bi holi chirche keies;
 and so carpenters no sowters,
 card-makers ne powchers,
 drapers ne cutellers,
 girdelers, coferers, ne corvyssers,
 ne no manere of artificeris,
 this sacrament mowe troten,
 but the privité of preesthode
 wer prickid in her soulis.
 And zit your sect susteynes
 wommen to seie massis,
 shewyng to trete a sacrament
 as preestes that thei were,
 reversynge holy doctours
 and decree of holy chirche.
 ¶ Allas! your brymme blastis
 awake the wilde wawlis,
 and scalen sely Peter ship,
 and putt it in hize perile;
 no were God the giour,
 and kept the stern,
 with the storne stormes
 that reufulli ze reisin,
 al schulde wende to wrak

¶ *Zit spekih Jah Uplande.*
 To make with the a dialogge,
 I holde it bot wast,
 for thou maryst thy lesynges lowde
 with thy false heresyas;
 men may so by thy writing,
 here, thou jangelyng jay,
 how thou bylovest not in the sacerid oste,
 for we sey alle,
 the sacerid oste that is sene with eye
 is veroy Cristes body;
 but thy secte seyth not soo,

into the waast watris.
 The releef of Cristis seeste
 zo ronden and ratyn,
 that his alumnens the postlis
 gadorid togidero,
 and dolith it to dogges
 and ravenous beestes;
 and the presciouse perlis .
 zo strowun to hogges,
 the sutil metis of scripturis
 to cherlis stomakos,
 and maken hom als comoun
 as the cart weye,
 azens Poulis sentence,
 and Poulis owne doctrine.
Non, inquit Paulus, potui vobis scribere quasi
spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus, etc.
 Se also what Crist seith,
 in the holy gospel .
Multa habui vobis dicere, sed non, etc.
 Also in many other place thus spokith he
 to his perfit disciplis:
Vobis datum est noscere mysterium regni Dei,
ceteris autem in parabolam, etc.

but zo say ther is Cristes body,
 zo tel not where.
 But Crist sayth, this is my body,
 and not, ther is my body.
 Whi, zo templers messo kellers,
 grante zo not Cristes wordes,
 syth zo chafyr thus therwith,
 bygylyng the pupil?
 Lelo zoure seete write zoure bylove
 of this sacril oste,
 and precho it ■ zo write it,
 and sette therto zoure sole,

Than the lewde and the lered
 auȝt not yliche,
 the scripturis bon scaterid
 in his privy pointes.

Jak, thou seist at the last,
 that charité is chacid,
 to vengyn oure defaultis,
 and mende us of oure mysse,
 levyngge oure rotyn ritis,
 folowinge Goddis lawe.
 Jak, oure ritis bon nouȝt rotyn,
 her rootis ben al freishe,
 plantid in the gospel,
 as I seide biforen;
 but, good Jak, ȝour graco,
 where be ȝe foundid?
 not in Goddis gospel,
 but in Sathanas pistile,
 wher of sorowe and of snowerie
 noon is to soken,
 but al maner of dolosité
 to ȝou is enditid,
 as in thi lewid daliaunce
 apertli thou hast proved;

and I am siker of my feith
 ȝe schul be stonde to deth;
 and than schal ȝoure castels
 cache hem new maysters,
 for ȝe wil not grante,
 no bot few of ȝoure ordirs,
 the ost sacerid, white and rounde,
 is verey Cristis body.
 I pray oure Lord Jhesu,
 that sone be it sene,
 who is in the trow woy,
 whether ȝe other we.

but moche mawgré mote thou have
 thus to frayn a frere,
 that sily wold have slent awoye,
 and noman have greved.
 But for thi grete labour
 thi gardoun thou shalt goto;
 thou shalt have the popis curse,
 and al holi chirehis;
 and if thou sett this at nouzt,
 God mowe sende thee more,
 the curse that he hath zóvun to Chym
 and Choreis sone also;
 thou shalt also have the curse
 that Crist zaf to Phariseis,
 figured in the figre tree
 that nevero bare fruyte aſtir.
 Thou shalt have the welcaway
 of Gelboth hilles,
 the sorowe of Sodomo,
 and al sinful citois.
 Take for thi faire ſpoch
 the prelor of *Deus ludem*,
 the greable gardoun
 for al opin ſclaudris;
 thou shalt have the malisoun
 of Moab and Ariel;

But towching men of craft,
 whom thou diſplayst,
 al they schulde medlo hom
 to know her bylove,
 but ■ welo of her ſaeryng,
 as wymmen ſyngyng meſſe,
 alwey thou usest the craft
 of thyn old ſador.
 Why darst not thou of summe
 of zou false heretykis,

the benysoun of Bethsaida
 shal make thy heddis heed;
 and, Jakko, for thou apprisist not
 the curse of saint Francoys,
 but scornyst the malisoun
 of the foure ordris,
 take the malisoun that God gaf
 to brekers of his lawe,
 in the booke of Deutromye,
 the seven and twenty chapitro;
 but evere be ware of Cristis curse,
 and of cattis tailis,
 the which if thou have grace to cacchen,
 noverre shal thou thryve.
 Now fare forthe to thi fourmures,
 and, Jak, thou hem telle
 the matere of oure talkyng,
 and loke how hem likith;
 and if hem thinko not thi sawes
 sufficientli assoilid,
 let hem senden anon,
 it shal be amondid;
 and sei hem that it nedith not
 to sharpon oure clerkes,
 for freke Dawe is scharpe ynow,
 for al sich enditingo.

fynde owte such on,
 and prove youre lesynges sothe.
 And wherfor, Daw, I sey homore
 to the at this tyme,
 but thou art on of the falsest
 that ever I saw write.
 For Mahomete and Sarginus,
 and al her grete lawe,
 wot not so many lesynges
 as ben here in thy writynges.

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Ffare welc, Jak Jāwdowyno,
 I thee God bitake;
 and nomore of frēis
 I thee redo to precho.
 To lower state than thoi bep
 thou maist hem not dreyve,
 and if thei overe come to hizer,
 thei wens shal thou thryve.

*Explicit diatamen fratris Daw Topia, quā in sine
 appellat Johanne[m] Walsingham; contra ques-
 tiones Johannis Uplond.*

ON THE EXECUTION OF RICHARD SCROPE, ARCHBISHOP
 OF YORK.¹

June 8, 1405.

Quis meo capiti dabit effundere,
 Et fonte lachrymas multam suffundere,
 Per dies et noctesque aquas deducere,

Descenti mortem praesulis?

Quid mirum effluam totus in lachrymas,
 Descam, lugeam tantas miseras,

Procerum, plebium strages innumeris,

Nunc suis verisimilis.

Sancti Paracloti sacra solennitas

Willielmi praesulis felix festivitas,

Pastoris humilis oculis severitas,

Conditiu gaudent temporis.

Secunda foris post lucis medium

Ricardus Anglico primas ad gladium.

Ducitur, caditur, migrans ad gaudium

Commutat ima superis.

¹ From MS. Cotton. Vatikana B. ix. fol. 212, v.

Pastor perducitur plebis præsentia,
Et interdicatur mox audientia;
In primis promitur ipsa sententia
Ingressus quam præpostolus.

Judex præpotens, nulla dilatio,
Nulla negotii examinatio
Gravis sententiæ præceps probatio,
Progressus temerarius.

Nil ergo conscius præsul non resonat,
Nec latus canonis censuras fulminat,
Sed prothomartyris exemplo geminat,
Ne Christus noxam statuas.

Non sacri temporis prodest præsentia,
Nihil nobilitas, nil reverentia
Personæ, ordinis nec præminetia,
Hæc habent voces vacuas.

Locus sententiæ, patris palatium;
Jumento vehitur hinc ad supplicium;
Cessavit penitus solle volatium,
Capistro frænum cessorat

Tunc ait pontifex, despectus congruit,
Ornatus varius quia complacuit,
Ilum mundi Dominus Christus sustinuit,
Cum pati poenas venerat.

Solatyr comitem adolescentulum,
Ne propterea timeat mortis articulum;
Certus obtineat cœli conaculum,
Coruscus comes angelis.

Fol, forula, virgula satis sufficerent,
Furcentem frameant si non sufficerent;
Foedam infamiam sic procul pellerent,
Vulgatam regnis singulis.

Proh dolor! parvulum ense percutiunt;
Proh pudor! sanguinem proprium polluant
Proh nefas! patriæ primatē perimunt,
Polluti parvicio.

Floxis poplitibus post praeis osculum
Offert carnifici columba jugulum ;
Sic linquit pontifex carnis orgastulum ;
Fort ictus quinque gladio.

Mitis in moribus, in pudicitia
Custus, virtutibus clarus, scientia
Lucidus, stabilis in patientia,
Vernat laude multiplici.

Baptismus sanguinis, fluminis, flammis,
Abstergit maculas cujusque criminis,
Hoc sacro tempore virtute munus
 Ronatus sono triplici.

Ast Thomam militum audax atrocitas,
Symonem plebium furens ferocitas,
Ricardum callide secura crudelitas,
Obtruncant christos Domini.

Annus millenus quadringentesimus
Quintus erat Christo patri novissimus,
Dies quo patitur pastôr piissimus
Octavus erat Junii.

Ad sancti Stephani altaris titulum,
Cujus proverbii sumpsit capitulum,
Præparat præsuli sepulchri lectulum
Cunotorum Deus præseculus.

Lectorum simplicem supplex exoptulo,
Ne patrem polluat veneni poculo ;
Benigne iudicat quæ videt oculo.
Factorum Dei nescius.

Quicquid ab aliis divisim traditur,
A probis plurimis sparsis assoritur,
Quod pio, patiens, devoto moritur,
 & De sine ulla hesitat.

Si vera caritas monstrat miracula,
Præcedet veritas, nec offendicula
Reddatur probitas per ulla secula,
Scriptura sacra recitat

Si causæ subeant, Deus, ecclesia,
 Regnum, res publica, fides, justitia,
 Pie præsumitur pro patientia
 Omnia vincit caritas.

Non queunt cætera pœnarum genera,
 Corpora lacera, carorum funera,
 A plebe tollere amoris munera;
 Omnia suffert caritas.

Thesaurus tollitur, vasaque cætera,
 Corporis, cameræ supellex varia,
 Capellæ, studii vasa, jocalia;
 Omnia fiscus occupat.

Non datur corporis funci linteus,
 Non nummus minimus pro funeralibus,
 Nihil pauperibus, nil creditoribus,
 Pietas proisus oxulat.

Pœna progreditur familiaribus,
 Censûs indicitur, nudantur opibus,
 Nec veris creditur probationibus,
 Venenum est his venia

Post hæc extenditur pœna in plebibus
 Importabilibus exactionibus;
 Nemini pœcitur, sed innocentibus
 Ingiata datur gratia.

Anglorum recolens prima fastigia,
 Nunc horum intuens dira discidia,
 Cunctorum metuens simul excidia,
 Mutata miror prospera

Cons olim nobilis, nunc nimis misera,
 In fide fragilis, vilis ut vipera,
 Verbis instabilis, in factis effœra,
 Materna rodit viscera.

Ignavi exteris bellis hostilibus
 Cedunt se mutuo plus quam civilibus,
 Trucidis, horridis, immaturalibus,
 Cognato madent sanguine.

Orbatur regio inelitis duobus,
 Nudatur logio lectis militibus,
 Bacchatur pugio crosis tyronibus,
 Rarus fortis in agmine.
 Quis mihi tribuat ut annos pristinos
 Revolvere videam et mores patrios,
 Ridere rideam ut canos ultimos;
 In forma pacis finiam.
 O summa Deitas, qui cœlis innotis,
 Præsidos mediis modero misoris,
 Ut spectis infimis latemur superis,
 Beatus dona veniam. Amon.

ON THE DEATH OF HENRY IV.¹

By Thomas of Elmham.

*Incipit epistola sacra theologie professoris magistri
 Thomæ Elmham, monachi de Lenton prope
 Notingham, ad regem Henricum quintum pro
 opere sequenti.*

O rex mi domino, scopo quo tibi scribere duxi,
 Providus ut sis, damna futura cœvis,

¹ From the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 211, fol. 131, 1". The writer of these lines, Thomas of Elmham, is well known to historians by his prose history of the reign of Henry V., printed by Hearne; by a history of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, of which Mr. Hardwick has recently given a new edition; and by his summary of the history of the same reign in Latin verse, the latter edited by Mr. C. A. Cole, in his "Memorials of Henry the Fifth,"

"King of England." In his earlier life he was a Benedictine monk of the monastery in Canterbury, of which he compiled the history; he subsequently entered the order of Cistercians, and was elected prior of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, an office which he held until 1426. The short poem here printed must, from internal evidence, have been composed immediately after the event it commemorates, the death of Henry IV., and before its author became prior of Lenton.

Errores solitos quos nunc tua curia mittit
 Corrigo, ne feriat te gravis ira Dei.
 Nam licet hic hodie sis rex, sors crastina forsan
 Te cito subvertet et diadema tuum.
 Ecce quod intrasti transis, patet exitus orbe,
 Quo tria sunt ista, pus, labor, atque dolor.
 Flebilis ingressus, progressus debilis inde,
 Egressus timidus, hæc memoraro precor.
 O si lamenta populi, si gaudia scires,
 Quæ tibi dat fleres egrediens, regrediens.
 Nam tuus adventus cunctis tristis perhibetur,
 Jocundus tuus est exitus ■ patria.
 Cervicata cohors et avari quique ministri
 Causant plura mala, dum bona vi rapiunt.
 Quod fit ois placitum tenet hoc pro jure vigorem,
 Ad libitum paret his homo, sic animal.
 Hi nihil excipiunt, tamen hoc in tempore guerræ,
 Illicitum figet, liber ut ■ solet.
 Presbyter et monachus, mercator, cultor agrique,
 Illis et jumenta libera jure manent.
 Ibi cum securi debent fore tempore guerræ,
 Cur non securi tempore pacis erunt?
 Si pax nulla locis datur in quibus ipso moraris,
 Pacis ades fractor, inde caveto tibi.
 Regis Ricardi crebro memorare secundi,
 Cujus fortunæ sit cito versa rota.
 Henrici regis patris ipse tui memor esto,
 Nam sua fortuna carne supina ruit.
 Illius in speculo res extitit hoc speculata,
 Hæc mago quo fieret conspicienda tibi.
 Hujus doctrina tibi stat vice colis, acutum
 Quæ ferrum reddit ipsa secando nihil.
 Dogmatis ceco sui motu congrua condere conor,
 Ut tibi proficiant hic tibi dixit ita.
*Explicit epistola magistri Thomæ Elmham, ad regem
 Henricum quintum.*

*Incipit epistola regis Henrici quarti ad filium suum
Henricum quintum in extremis languentis pro
sui et regni Angliæ gubernatione, una cum
benedictione paternali cunctis suis filiis, ex com-
posito prædicti magistri T. E.*

Dilige mente Deum, fili, virtuteque tota,
Hoc tu si facias sit tibi vera salus.
Vera salus tibi sit, si cordo Deum veneris,
Nec dubites sibi dans corpus, opes, cor, et os.
Corpus, opus, cor, et os tibi dans, mala discute prisen,
Si sit prosperitas, inde caveto mali.
Inde caveto mali, ne degener ad bona flus,
Et te sic habens ut mala quoque laus.
Ut mala quæque laus crebro bene constiteris,
Tu confusores excipe proficiuos
Excipe proficiuos, fovens quo te reprehendant,
Ut deceat exculpa lutiùs arto seras.
Atrota seras luto servito Deo, vigil affer
Os, aures, oculos, cordo precando Deum.
Corde precando Deum consortia pango plerum;
Det tibi colloquium religiosa cohors,
Religiosa cohors pellat decorata malorum,
Omne inialum fugias, dilige quodque bonum.
Quodque bonum nutrias, coram te despicio dei
Allectiva malis, cor pietatis habeo.
Cor pietatis habeo, labor assit, et otia sperno,
Exemplum probens arma tuendo tuis.
Arma tuendo tuis memorans regni diadema,
Dic memorans libinet ad quod, amice, venis.
Ad quod, amice, venis, ut inæsis proficias nil,
Non ruis inde pigor si nimis alta petas.
Si nimis alta petas, scriptura cerno valorem,
Nec putous Jacob' est, sit sapior inde recens.
Sit sapior inde recens, hinc vana recentia pello,
Teque decentia stent recta decentia te

Recta docentia te dictant ut, linea recta
Sit servanda tibi quo vacet illicitum.
Quo vacet illicitum non dextris nonquo sinistris
Divertas, gratis prosperitate cavens.
Prosperitate cavens adversis tu patiens sis,
Esto memor finis, dic ego quis tibi met?
Dic ego quis tibi met, Henrice, tibi speculum do,
Fortis eram quondam, debilis ecce ruo.
Debilis ecce ruo, multis formosior olim
Vultus pictura pluribus alma fuit.
Pluribus alma fuit quæ nunc patet horrida cunctis,
Qui sapui plura, vix memor esto mei.
Vix memor esto mei quis me de corpore mortis
Hujus nunc leniet, mors, mihi cara, veni.
Mors, mihi cara, veni, cum sis mihi janua vitæ,
Fæstor, globa, lutum, stat reputanda caro.
Stat reputanda caro nil, quamvis sint tibi vires,
Si non mente vires, non bonus ipso vires.
Non bonus ipso vires, horum si non memor assis,
Qui cari mihi sunt, his bona ferre velis.
His bona ferre velis, cunctis ingrata refutes,
Quo gratus mancas, hoc tibi gratia det.
Iloc tibi gratia det, Achoron non grata resumet,
Terram terra tegit, spiritus alta petet.
Spiritus alta petet, benedictio te sacra Christi
Servet, quo solvas debita quæque mea.
Debita quæque mea solvas et eris benedictus,
Te fratres quoque rex beat ipso poli.
Rex beat ipso poli pietate Thomamque, Johannem,
Neonon Humfredum, sit quibus alma fides.
Alma fides vireat qua crescant prospera regni,
Ut te contingat hac prece posse frui.

Gratiarum actiones regis Henrici 4 in fine vite sue.

Gloria, Christo, tibi, miserorum rex miseratur,
Pro pietate tua tu misero mei.

Tu miserere mei nescio conceptus in alva,
 Ingressus mundum mox bona grata tui.
 Grata tui, tribues tibi nil miles, comes, et dux,
 Nunc rex grata tui gloria tota tibi.
 Tota tibi laus sit, in te nunc omnia possum,
 Huc me confortant spes, amor, atque fides.
 Spes, amor, atque fides, sensusque, memorque voluntas
 Patri tum nato spirituique sacro.
 Sacro spiritui sit laus in honore perenni,
 Infirmitas cum sim fortior atque potens.
 Fortior atque potens respirans exprimo Xristum,¹
 Hinc ego nunc rogo iusta crucis vin sit.
 Hoc est nobilitas regnantibus inclita cunctis
 Virtutum series, relevans examina Xpus.
 Hostes ecce nocent rapiendo jocularia cura,
 Virtus servetur respirans excipe Xpuni.
 Traditur hostis opus, meditetur amaro sophia,
 Excipiens lumen mortis, amara monens.

Nomen
 regis.

Nomen
 versificationis
 orig.

Mortem regis Henrici III.

Annis millenis quadringentis duodenis
 Rex morat Henricus ad loca digna sibi.
 Outhberti ludo vitam spirantem ab iis
 Suscipit altitonus rex miserando pils.
 Ræta prophetia sonuit quam vivus habebat,
 Quod sibi sancta fuit terra laetanda cruce.
 Improvisa sibi sacra terra datur nescius hospes
 In Rothlen camera Westque monasterio.
 O fallax fortuna, suis vergenda repente,
 Quos sua dextra levat, hos sua leva premit.
 Pingit, oval, recipit, tradit, variat, negat, misert,
 Quot rara promittit, suo perire solent.
 Clamat Henricus rex, regum gemino natus,
 Anglus, Normannus, cum sit uterque parens.

¹ It is necessary to retain the case, or we should lose the *x*,
 abbreviation of the word in this | which is necessary to the acrostic.

Anglia, Francia, Néustria, parte patris referuntur,
 Nobilius reliquis, stirps ~~una~~ clara virot.
 Henrico regi terno sextus reperitur,
 Tam patre quam matre pura propago patet.
 Audax, intrepidus, micuit miles, comes, et dux,
 Hinc rex magnificus robore, mento, statu.
 Ille moriens monuit successurum sibi natum
 Henricum quintum, nobilitate parem.

Finitur finis regis Henrici 4ti.

Rex es, apicolis ale ne grave lædat, id effer;
 Hic es, nil rapias, jus conservans vice summi;
 Quo virtus jubilans, noxam terit, undique suffer.
 Chrismatis arma tenens, en regni jus notat gra.
 Res est gratifica jam nobilitas animosa,
 Angelicum nomen genti locus imprimit ecce.

ON THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.¹

And ther lay owre kyng til the fyrste day of
 Octobre, the which day owre kyng removyd and
 toke his way thorow Normandy and thorow Pykardy
 towarde Calys. And these bothe the townes that
 owre kyng rood by thorow Frawnce. First is Har-
 flew, the secundo is Houndesle; the thirde is Barflete;
 the ferthe is Mousterevelers; the fift is Tescoonpe,
 with the abbey; the sixt is Arkes; the seventh is
 Depe; the eyght is Depe; the ix^e is the cet^e of

¹ From MS. Cotton. Cleop. C. iv. fol. 24, r^o. This song, evidently a contemporary effusion, is preserved in a partly imperfect form in an early chronicle of London, the writer of which was taking his narrative from the account given in the popular

ballad, until, tired of paraphrasing it, he went on copying the song itself. The lines of the earlier part of it, with their rhymes, are easily traced in the introductory prose, which is printed here as it stands in the MS.

Delewe; the x^o is the coté de Towe; the xj^o is coté
 de Neolle; the xij^o is the coté de Amyas; the xiiij^o is
 the coté of Arns; the xiiij^o the water of Spinne; the
 xv^o the coté of Pyroune; the xvj^o the water of
 Swerlys; and than the batel of Tyrwyno. And in
 Azyngcorte feldo owro kyngo saught with the French-
 men the fryday tofore the day of Symond and Jude;
 and ther all the ryall powere of Frenschemen come
 azonst owro kyngo and his litill meyné, save the
 Frenshe kyngo and the dolfyno and the duke of
 Borgoyne, and the duke of Barre, elles all the lordys
 of Frawnce lay tofore the kyngo in his hy way as
 he schuld passe towarde Calys, subatoyld in iij^o
 batayles, as the Frenschemen sayde hem silke, the
 nowmbre of lx mⁱ men of armes, and the were the
 faireste men of armys that ever any man sawe in any
 place. And owro kyngo with his litille mayné soy
 well he must nodyz fyghte, or he myght not come to
 Calays by the hy ways. And than he sayde to his
 lordys and to his mayné: "Syres and felowes, this
 "zondere mayné thenke to lett us of owro way,
 "and that wil nat come to us, lets every man prove
 "hym silke a good man this day, and avant baneres,
 "in the best tyme of the yere, for as I am now
 "kyngo and knyght, for me this day schulle never
 "Inglood mawnsome pay; erste many a wyght man
 "schall love is weddes, for here erste to deeth I wil
 "be dyght, and therfore, lordynges, for the love of
 "swote Jhesu, helpe mayntene Ingloodes ryght this
 "day. Also, achers, to yow I praye, no fote that
 "ze fle away, erste be we alle beten in this feldo.
 "And thenke be Englysshemen that never wold fle
 "at no batelle, for azonst one of us throwthe ther
 "be teng, thenke Christe wil help us in owro ryght.
 "But I wold no blode we spille, Cryste helpe me
 "so now in this case, but the that been cause of
 "this trespass; when thou sittest in jugment, ther

" holde me excused tofore thi face, as thou art God
 " omnipotent. But passe we all now in fere, duke,
 " erle, and bachelere, of all owre synnys he make us
 " sekere. Jentil Jhesu, boine of Marye, and as for us
 " thou deydyst on good Fryday, as thi will was, so
 " brynge us to thi blisse hy, and graunte us ther
 " to have a place. Do and bete on flaste, owre kynge
 the bad wythe fulle glad chere; and so thei dyde at
 that word, lord, knyght, and archere. Ther men
 myght see a semblé sado, that turnyd many on to
 tone and tray, for many a lorde ther ryght low
 lay, that comen was of blod full gent By even-
 song tyme sothely to say, ther helpe us God omni-
 potent.

Steles thier stambelyd in that stownde,
 That stod sterc stuffed under stele;
 With gronyng grete thei selle to grownde,
 Here sydes federed whan thei góne felo.
 Owre lord the kyngo he foght ryght wold,
 Scharpliche on hem his speere he spent,
 Many on seke he made that seke,
 Thorow myght of God omnipotent.

The duke of Gloucestre also that tyde
 Manfully, with his mayné,
 Wondes he wrought ther wondere wyde.
 The duke of Yorke also, perde,
 Fro his kyng no sote wold he flee,
 Til his basonet to his brayn was bent,
 Now on his sówle he have pete,
 Mersifull God omnipotent.

Montyngdoun and Oxforde bothe
 Were wondere fers all in that fyght;
 That orste was glade thei made ful wrothe,
 Thorow hem many on to deth were dyght.

The orles fowghten with mayn and myzt,
 Rich hauberke thei rofe and rente;
 Owre kyng to helpe thei were full lyght;
 Now blesse hem God omnipotent.

The orle of Suthfolk gan hem assaylle,
 And sir Riccardo Kyghle in that stede,
 Here lyves thei losten in that bataile,
 With dynes sore ther were thei dede.
 If any man byde any good bode
 Unto God with good entent,
 To the two sowles it mote be needs,
 Gracius God omnipotent.

Sire William Bowsere, as soule in sight,
 Presto he ther was upon his pray,
 Brynyngham he coine hym with,
 For manhode help us welles that day.
 Off Frenshe folk in that asray
 Thre dukes were dede with doful dent,
 And fyve orles, this is no way;
 Ther helpe us God omnipotent.

Lordes of name an hunderde and mo
 Bitterly that bargayn bowght;
 Two thousand cot-armers also,
 After her sorow thedere thei sowght.
 Ten thousand Frenschemen to dolel war browght,
 Off whom never none away went;
 All her names sothly know I nowght,
 Have mercy on hem Cryst omnipotent.

Two dukes were take in that stoure,
 He of Orlawnee and of Barbaun,
 The Ewe and Arthowre,
 The orle of Vandoun, and many mo.

The erchebisshope of Sens with our foon,

Hym failed the wynnyng of his schone,
Thorow myght of God omnipotent.

The fals Flomyngys, God zef hem care,
Thei loved us never 3it, by the roode,
For alle here fals flateryng fare,
Azenst owre kyng that day thai stode.
Bot many of hem her hert blode
Unblythly bledden upon that bent;
3it schalle thai never wayt Ingland good,
I swere by God omnipotent.

EPIGRAM ON THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.¹

Mortua carnis cruce caro Christi victor ut intus
Crispini luce fecit Francis fore funus.
Henricus quintus rus agens cursum fuit intus,
Jure juvante Jesh rex ost victor sine lesu,
Dant sua firma fides, bona vita, preces, et amores,
Per silvas virides quod perdit Francia flores:
Ante lepus fugit, quod nunc est Anglica villa,
Quum leo rugit per Francos redditur illa.

THE FRENCHMAN TO THE ENGLISHMAN.²*Versus Francorum.*

O gens Anglorum, moium flos, gesta tuorum,
Cur tu Francorum procuras damna bonorum?
Servorum Christi quos tractas crimine tristi,
Et servant isti fidem quam his renuisti.

¹ From MS. Harl. No. 809, fol.
282, v^o.

² From MS. Harl. No. 2,406, fol.
9, v^o.

Sub specie casti, fraudem tu semper amasti.
 Scindas annosque caudam quam fera venenosam,
 Sed cantas prozam fidelibus Christi morosam.
 Exaudi presto tu, pater, et memor esto,
 Qui te caudavit Deus ipsum sanctificavit.

Responsio Anglorum.

Anglorum gentem cur falso percutis ore?
 Et pro responso do tibi metra duo.
 Provalet in lingua qui non est fortior armis,
 Nullus in hac pugna plus meretricis valet.

ON THE LOLLARDS.¹

*Versus Lollardorum contra prelatos ecclesie ad cui-
 lundum dominos temporales contra eos.*

Plangant Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
 Patulus fert horum sunt idola causa dolorum.
 Surgunt ingrati Quesites Simone nati,
 Nomine prelati huc defensare parati.
 Qui reges estis, populis quicunque preestis,
 Qualiter his gestis gladium prohibere potestis.

Versus quidam catholici contra eandem Lollardos.

Cens Lollardorum gens est villa Sodomorum,
 Errores eorum sunt in mundo causa dolorum.
 Illi sunt ingrati, maledicti, demone nati,
 Quos vos, prelati, sitis damnare parati;
 Qui pugiles estis fidei populisque preestis,
 Non horum gestis ignes prohibere potestis.

¹ These verses appear to belong to the reign of Henry V. They are taken from MS. Cotton. Verpas D. ix. fol. 51, 1^a.

ON THE DEATH OF HENRY V.¹*Nota bene de Henrico rege quinto, scilicet Anglico*

Finit tractatus celebri memoramine dignus,
 Tractatus talis qualem non viderat Anglus,
 Nec visurus erat, licet annis mille manebit,
 Plusquam militia nisi gratia deferat arma,
 Et fortisque potens princeps sit bella gubernans,
 Ut semper fiorit Henricus quintus quando regebat;
 Quando sed id fiet, Deus utique non homo dicet,
 Det Deus Augustus ut sit Julio novus hæres,
 Duxque patri Macedo successor honore Philippo.
 Quam probus et pugnax, quam vivax, fortis, et audax
 Adversus Francos fuit Henricus rex nomine quintus,
 Dum regnans steterat, hæc nunc concordia monstrat.
 Monstrat, declarat, plano seimoneque narrat,
 Quod fuit in bellis Mars, altus et Hector in armis,
 In censis Ienthus, in judiciis Radamantus,
 Carolus in quæstu, Clodoveus et in moderatu;
 Pluraque sub brevibus ut summam referamus,
 Quicquid regis erat, hic unus solus habebat,
 Unus et in numero rex, miles, duxque regendo.
 Regum gemma fuitque ducum flos dummodo vixit.
 Quam bona, quam magna, quam grandia, quamque
 notanda
 Ille rex, dum roxit, apud hostes gesta peregit,
 Si melius memores, et quomodo nunc variat sors,
 Non sine militas neglectu desidiaque.
 Dico flens, dicque mærens, fuit hostis seu modo gaudens,

¹ From a MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Laud. No. 697, fol. 28, v^o.

Nunc vir, nunc æstus, nunc Martia tota potestas
 Ad Francos abiit, nunc nos Anglosque reliquit.
 Regina fallit habens patrem, sequitur sua proles,
 Fallit item dictum, dat ramus semper eundem
 Fructum quem stipex, interdum sunt variantes,
 Desino plura loqui, res est manifesta legenti.

*Decet enim talia haberi in memoria in bonorum
 laudem, vituperationem enim eorum qui dor-
 mitant et peregre permittunt omnia in per-
 ditionem.*

EPICRAM ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF
 FRANCE 1422¹

*Invectio Gallici contra dominum regem Angliæ pro
 mutatione armorum.*

Lilia Francorum, rex Karolo septimo regum;
 Sint tua cum regno, si qua tunc reverentia legum.

Iusta responsio Anglici pro mutatione armorum.

Lilia Francorum decrevisti progenitorum
 Jam sunt Anglorum, si lex valet ulla priorum.

- - -

¹ From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 121, v°. This epigram appears to have been written on the

occasion of the proclamation of the dauphin of France, claiming the kingdom — Charles VII., upon the death of Charles VI.

ON THE ENGLISH TITLE TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.¹

*Here begynneth a remembraunce of a peedeugre how
that the kyng of Englonde, Henry the sext, is
truly borne heir unto the corone of Fraunce
by lynyalle successioun, als wele on his ffader
side, Henry the fifth, whom God assoille, ■ by
Kateryne quene of Englonde, his modir, whom
God assoille; made by Lydygate Johan the monke
of Bury, at Parys, by the instaunce of my lord
of Warrewyk.*

The prolog.

Trouble hertis to sette in quyetē,
And make folkys theire language for to lette,
Which disputen in their opynyons
Touching the ligne of two regions,
The right, I mene, of Ingland and of Fraunce,
To put away alle maner variaunce,
Holy thō cloute and the ambyguyté,
To sette the ligne where hit shuld be,
And where hit aught justly to abide,
Wrongfulle claymes for to set aside,
I moved was shortly in sentement
By precept first and commaundement
Of the nobly prince and manly man,
Which is so knyghtly and so moche can,

¹ This is one of the numerous metrical productions of the poet Lydgate, and certainly is one of his worst. Its date is fixed to the autumn of the year 1420 by the statement that the king was then "nigh" five years old, and Lydgate himself gives ■ the day of the

month on which it was written, namely, the 28th of July. It is printed from MS. Harl. No. 7333, fol. 81, r°. I have not been able to discover any traces of the original from which Lydgate professes to translate.

My lord of Warrewyk, so prudent and wise,
 Beyng present that tyme at Parys
 Whanne he was than repairede again
 From seint Juliane of Mauns, oute of Mayne
 Resorted home, as folkys telle conne,
 From the castelle that he had wonne
 Thurgh his knyghthode and his hy noblesse,
 And thurgh his wysdom and his hy prowess.

Gladly he chevith what so he begynne,
 Sesyng not tylle he his purpos wynde,
 Tho fyne therof berith witnessing.
 Lyf and goodis for title of his kyng
 He sparith not to put in jupardye,
 Only the right for to magnifie
 Of him that is to him moste soverain,
 Henry the sext, of age ny fyve yere renne,
 Borne to be kyng of worthie reamys two.
 And God graunt that it may be so,
 Septure and crowne that he may in dede,
 As he hath right, in peas to possede,
 And to put his title in remembrance,
 Whiche that he hath to Ingland and to Fraunce.

The regent
 of the
 [em] of
 Fraunce,
 due of
 B[edford].

The noble, that worthi varour,
 Whiche may be callid a very conquerour,
 Who lyst conside and serche by and by
 His grete emprise in ordre coriously,
 And specially to encrece his glory,
 Who list remembre the grete high victory
 Which that he had in Vernoille in Porche,
 Fulle notable in boke oute to serche,
 In cronycles to be song and rad;
 And this prince moste discrete and sad,
 Hy lord of Bedford, of Fraunce the regent,
 Was the first that did his intent,
 By grete advys and ful hy prudence,
 Thurgh his laboure and his diligence,

That made ecoche in cronycle fulle notable,
 By the clerk which he knew moste able,
 Renomed of wysdom and science,
 Worthie eke of fame and of credence.

And I, as he that durst not withsey,
 Humbly his biddyng did obey,
 Ful desirous him to do plesaunce,
 With fere suppressed for my ignoraunce,
 And in my hert quakyng for drede;
 And as I kend began to taken hede
 Unto the Frenssh compiled by Laurence,
 In substaunce flowyng the substaunce
 Of his writyng and compilacioun.
 Alle be that I in my translacioun
 To my helpe nor to my socoure
 Of rethoryk have no maner flour,
 Yit shal I folow my maistre douteles,
 Calot, and be not recheles
 Liche his writyng my stiel to direct;
 Where I dare pray hem to correct,
 I mene tho that shalle hit sene or rede;
 And right forth who so lyst take hede,
 Undir favoure and supportacioun,
 Thus I begyn on my translacioun.

Here endith the prolog, and begynneth the translacioun.

Crist Jhesu, prince and soverain lord
 Of unyté, of pease, and of accorde,
 Seyng the myschief and the hie distaunce
 Betwene the kyng of England and of Fraunce;
 Perylle of soules both nygh and ferre,
 By occasioun of the mortalle werre;
 Seyng also the grete confusioun
 Of both reames, by devisioun
 Thurgh feyned falshede caused cursidly
 By the dolphyn, that so horribly

Made sleen withoute drede or shame,
 At Monstrenx, a toun of grette fame,
 Johan duc of Burgoyne, by grette violence,
 Doyng to him honure and reverence,
 And evermore of iniquité,
 By false tresoun and cursed cruelté,
 Compassed; alas! that was to grette a ruth
 Under coloure and shadowe of veray trouth
 In dispite of the churche, alas!
 Havyng no reward in this horrible cas
 To suerté nor othe ymade tofore,
 Nor assurance in holy place asworne,
 The high lord Henry Bully to offende;
 That wit of man coude not compreheude,
 That this dolphyn shuld in any wise
 So hygh tresoun compassen or devise,
 Him self, alas! in hindryng of his name,
 Thugh the world to schaunde and to blame,
 Causyng in soth his unabilité
 For to succede to any dignité,
 Of knyghtly honure to regne in any land,
 As by letters ensealid with his hand
 Clerly recorde, truth wolke not vary,
 He to his othe witching the contrary.

Consideryng this and poised in balauce,
 Touchyng the right of true enheritaunce,
 God thugh his myght who can understonde
 More of grace than of mannes honde,
 Alle our trouble to enden and to fyne,
 By purveaunce which that is dovyne,
 Provided hath of his hy grace
 For reames two large to compass
 A rightfulle heire, I dare hit welc andite,
 As this figure unto every wight
 Showyng in ordre descendyng lyne right,
 To forein blode that it not ne choinge,
 The crowne to put in non hondis straunge,

*
 Showyng
 of the suc-
 cessor in
 portraiture.

But it conveyed there it shuld be
 Verily, liche ■ ye may se,
 The peedegré doth hit specifie,
 The figure lo of the genelagye,
 How that God list for her purchase
 Thurgh his power and benigne grace,
 An heir of peas by just successioun,
 This figure makith clere demonstracioun.
 Ageins which noman may maligne,
 But that he stondith in the veray ligne,
 As ye may se, as descendid is
 Of the stok and blode of seint Lowys;
 Of which we aught of equité and right
 In oure hertis to be glad and light,
 That we may se with every circumstaunce
 Direct the lyne of Englund and of Fraunce.
 On the othir part byhold and ye may se
 How this Herry in the eight degré
 Is to seint Lowys sone and very heire;
 To put away alle doute and despaire,
 God hath for us so graciously provided,
 To make al oon that fist was devided,
 That this Herry standing in the lyne,
 Thurgh Goddis hond and purviaunce devyne,
 Is justly borne, to voide alle variaunce,
 For to be kyng of Englund and of Fraunce;
 To whom we owe truly to obey
 In every thing, there is nomore to sey.
 By whom we se the werre doutelesse
 Fully finisshed, brought in werre and peas,
 Betwix this noble worthi reames twayne,
 Ful long aforne with laboure and grete payne
 Sought and required, which ben now at rest,
 Thanked be God, that alle doth for the best.
 And that this peas in sothfast unyté,
 Be endid sone withoute strif or plee,
 By thavise and mediacioun

Shewyng
 the portra-
 ture of the
 peedegré.

Mado by troité of bothe regioun,
 Sworne and asured by fulle besy payne
 Of both parties at Trois in Champaigne.
 Charlis the sext makyng thassurance,
 Thilke tyme boyng kyng of Fraunce,
 The quene also sworne in the same wise,
 And after hom, as I shal devise,
 The boko also entouchid with his hond,
 Was Herry sworne, kyng of Englund,
 Heir of Fraunce, and also regent,
 And Pholip eke boyng there present,
 Duc of Burgoyne, assured eke and sworne,
 Sone to the duc of whom I spake byforn,
 That slayn was and murdered traitoursly;
 Than thre astatis boyng by and by,
 Prelatis, erles, lordis, and barons,
 Sworne and assured, of both regions,
 As the traité fully hath devised.
 And there in Troys also was solompnesed
 The maringe, to conferme up the peas;
 And to declare the inauer dountles
 Of this weddyng, who so lyst to serche,
 At Seint Petirs Aundels of the chirehe,
 The said Herry, manly and prudent,
 Of Englund kyng, of Fraunce the regent,
 Betrouthed hath my lady Katoryne,
 And the mystery with that is devyne.
 O mariage by grette reverence,
 The sacrament for the excellence
 He hath worshipped, and fulle humbly
 In the chireh made axid openly,
 After custume of hy or low degré,
 To show ensample of humylité.
 In the chirehe thries, of Seint Johan,
 Liche the custume of now and yore agon,
 Thries published in open audience,
 As the lawe byndeth in sentence.

Touching the statuyt in ■ of mariage,
 For any favoure of blode or lynage,
 The cours suyng in alle his hole entent,
 And in no wise list not be exempte.
 From poynt to poynt list no thing withdrawe,
 The bonde filowyng of holy chirche lawe,
 Notwithstondyng his astate rialle;
 But in his chirche than parochialle
 Of Seint Johan he came with good entent,
 For to receive the holy sacrament
 Of mariage, he and Kateryne,
 As ye toforne have herd me determyne.
 The which Herry if I shal discryve,
 I dare wele sey there was never on lyve
 No manlier to speke of worthinesse,
 Of governaunce, nor of hy prowesse,
 Whiche thurgh his manhode and grete laboure,
 Lyche a notable worthi conqueroure
 Cesid not, thurgh his besy peyne,
 Justly to bring worthi reames twayne
 Undir oo crowne by desceynt of lyne;
 For which he may among the worthie nyne
 Truly be set and reconed for oon,
 Who can take hede among hem everichone.
 And of this Henry, of knyghthode moste famous,
 Moste avisy, and moste victorious,
 From saint Lowys in the right lyne,
 I sey of him and of Kateryne,
 Don in ordre by corious lynealle,
 Descendid is from the stok rialle
 Of seint Lowis, who can undirstond,
 Henry the sext, borne in Englonde,
 For to possede by enheritaunce
 Crownes two of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 By true title, as ye have hard toforne,
 The first yere in soth that he was borne.
 By the which of hem he and his fader dere
 Both two passing in oon yere,

Kyng of
 Fraunce,
 Charles

the
soxt], and
the kyng of
Englond,
Her[ry the
sixt].

Everiche in haste sayng after othir,
By pitous faute, hit wold be non othir,
The yere of grace by computacioun
A thousand foure hundred by conclusioun
Twenty and two, who so compute right
God graunt her soules of her grete myght
Joy and rest which is eternalle,
In his court above celestialle;
And graunt our kyng joy, honour, and glorie,
Peas and quiete, and of his foen the victorie,
To love his people, and to be loved ayen,
As thei loved her lord most sovereign,
Charles the soxt, which was his auncle.
And in doctryne nourished he as wel,
And als wys and prudent synally,
As was his fader callid also Henry.
Graunt him grace and also good fortune,
In his regnes also to contynue
His rialle lyne also to laboure,
And that hit may verily be founde
Uy to encrece in worship and vertue,
As an heir blessed of Jhesu,
And of renown excellent in vertue.
To drawen oute a true pedigree,
Lynally descending even adoun
From saint Lowys, most famous of renown,
And renowned of purite holynesse;
And specially, the trowth to expresse,
Amonges other to rekene everychone,
Of Frensch men only there was none
From the trowth which wold not varie,
Oure liege lord chosen secretary
For his feithfulle true diligence,
Which by name callid is Laurence
Calet, of the counseille clerk,
Which toke on him the laboure of this werk,
Ever after to be read and song;
First to compile hit in the Frensch tong.

Compendiously drawe hit in sentence
 In that language, by grete providence,
 As he that was passing excellent,
 In rethoryk famous and eloquent,
 And diligent withouten any slouth
 To declare oute the trowth,
 The chaf to voide and take the true corne.
 Of which my lorde that I spak of byforne,
 My lord of Warrewyk, ful worthi of renoun,
 Of high prudence and discrecioun,
 Touching the writyng of this Calot clerk,
 Draw into Frenssh by his besy werk,
 Gaf me precept in conclusioun
 To make therof a playne translacioun
 In Englishsh tong, and bad me hit translate,
 And to reherce the very true date
 Of this laboure, when I first bygan,
 Hit was in soth, as I reherce can,
 The monyth of Juylle twenty daies comon,
 And eight over, when the sonne shone
 Made his paleys and his dwellyng place
 Ameddis the hevenc in the thrid face,
 The signe I mene callid the lioun,
 Which is the toure and chief mansioun
 Where Phobus hath moste souverain dignité;
 And thilke tyne in the thrittoneth degré
 He entred was of the same signe,
 Thatempre wadir lusty and benigne,
 Saturne beyng in the scorpyoun,
 In which he hath no domynacioun,
 No dignité shortly for to tary;
 Jubiter in the sagittary
 Seven degrés where he is dignified,
 Fulle fortunat and grotly magnified;
 Furious Mars, the ferfulle red sterre,
 Causar of stryf, patroun of the werre,
 With his homes cast moste fervently,
 Was two poeys passed of gemeny;

Fiessh Venus, lady of Citheron,
 Was nyne dogreos outred the lyoun;
 And the mone, with her hornes pale,
 From the bolle gan her couns avail;
 The same tyme when that Mercurious
 In the lyoun had take his hous,
 Ful contrary to his dignité,
 Beyng the in the tenth degré;
 And of the bulle also doutles
 By accomptes also twenty grees
 Entred was the hed of the diagoun,
 And his taille in the opposicion;
 The same tyme, as I understond,
 My lord bad me this werk take in hond.
 That he may se his generacion
 Unto the fortieth multiplicacion
 Victoriously for to regnon here,
 After this lyfe above the steres clere,
 God him graunt only of his grace
 Of morey there for to have a place.

*Here endith the genologie of kyng Henry the seyt,
 and folowith a roundelle of him agens his coro-
 nacoun, made by Lydegate clauke Johan.*

Rejoice, ye reames of Englonde and of Fraunce,
 A braunche that sprang oute of the floure-de-ly,
 Blode of seint Edward and seint Lowys,
 God hath this day sent in governaunce.

God of naturo hath yoven him suffraunce,
 Likly to attayne to grete honoure and pris.

O hevenly blossome, o budde of alle plesaunce,
 God graunt the grace for to ben als wise
 As was thi fador by circumspect advise,
 Stable in virtue, withoute variaunce.

Explicit.

TO KING HENRY VI. ON HIS CORONATION¹

Most noble prince of cristen princes alle,
 Flowryng in yowthe and vertuous innocence,
 Whom God above list of his grace calle
 This day to estate of knyghtly excellence,
 And to be crowned with diewe reuerence,
 To grete gladnesse of al this regioun,
 Lawde and honour to thy magnificence,
 And goode fortune unto thy high renoun.

Royal braunched, descended from two lynes,
 Of seynt Edward and of seynt Lowys;
 Holy seyntes, translated in theyr shrynes,
 In theyr tyme manly, prudent, and wys;
 Arthur was knyghtly, and Charles of grete prys,
 And of all these thy grene tender age,
 By the grace of God and by his advys,
 Of manly prowesse shal taken lamage.

God of his grace gaf to thy kynrede
 The palme of conquest, the laurele of victorie;
 They loved God, and worshipped hym in dede,
 Wherfor theyr names he hath put in memory,
 Made hem to reigne for vertu in his glorie;
 And sith thou art born of theyr lynage,
 Tofore al thynges that bien transitorye
 Love God and drede, and so gynne thy passage.

¹ This poem was evidently addressed to the infant king, on his coronation, which took place on the 6th of November 1429. It is printed from a contemporary manuscript, MS. Harl. No 2251, fol 251, v^o.

Downe from the heven thre flour-de-lys of gold,
 The felds of asure, were sent to Clodove,
 To sygnifie, in storye it is tolde,
 Parfite bileve, and sothfast myt^e
 Of thre persones in the Tynit^e;
 For to declare that the lyne of Effraunce
 Shuld in theyr trouth parfite and stable be,
 Grounded on foyth, withouton variance.

And sith thou art from that noble lyne
 Descended downe, be stidfast of bylove;
 Thy knyghtly honour let it shewe and shyne,
 Showe thy power and thy myght to prove
 Ageyne al tho that wil the churche grove.
 Cherisse thy lordes, hate extorsoun;
 Of thyn almesse thy pople thou relove;
 Ay on thy comune hayyng compassion.

Noble prince, the high Lord to gwerne,
 Susteyne right, trouth to magnyfie,
 Differo vengeance, alwey or thou doome,
 And gyf no dome til thou here icho putye
 Til nother part thy favour nat applye;
 And eke conside, in thyn estate royal,
 The Lord above, whiche nouman may denye,
 Indifferently seeth and considreth alle.

God sent this day unto thy regalye
 Of al vertues havenly influence;
 First of alle thi-state to magnyfy
 With Salomons ~~so~~verayne sapience;
 To governo thy wit and thi high prudence,
 Liche kyng David to be lool mercyable,
 Whiche of pit^e, whan men dide hym offence,
 Morey peforryng, list nat be vengeable.

Nobles and force in wexynge liche Sampson,
 Resemble in knyghthode to worthy Josué;
 And thow mayst be Goddis champioun,
 As that he was, Judas the Machabée;
 With Alisaundres magnanimyté;
 Conquest, victorie, with Cesar Julius,
 His pacience and his tranquillité,
 And in suffraunce to be als vertuous.

Provident, with Brutus Cassius;
 Hardy as Hector, whan tyme doth require;
 Vices eschewyng as Fabricius;
 Constant of heit, and al als entier
 As Zenocrates, whos renoun shoone so cliere;
 Wronges forgetyng, noble Cypion;
 Clement, with Titus; with al these in feere,
 In al thi dedis conquest and high renoun.

In al thi werkis hauntyng rightwisnesse,
 As themperour that callid was Trajan;
 With Thiborye, fredam and gentillesse;
 Attomperance, with prudent Gracian;
 And in thy doomes, liche Justynian,
 Nothyng conclude til thow se the fyne;
 Poes preferryng as Octovyan;
 The chirche cherysshynge, like Constantyne.

And that thow mayst be resemblable founde,
 Heretikes and Lollardes to oppresse,
 Liche themperour worthy Sygesmounde;
 And as thy fader, flowre of high prowesse,
 At the gynning of his roial noblesse,
 Voided al cokil farre out of Syon,
 Cristes spouse satte in stablenesse,
 Outrayng foreyns that cam from Babilon.

God graunt the graco for to resemble in al
 Unto these noble worthy conquerours;
 Longe to contynue in thyn estate royal,
 And to be lyke to thy progenytous;
 To gadre the vertu out of freshe floures,
 As dide thy fadir, myrrour of manhode;
 And to repressse of vices al the showres,
 With synal graco to love God and diode.

Fynally, remembryng of reason
 Crophe and roote of that royal lyne
 Fro whiche thou cam, folwe discretoun
 Of thy fader, whiche dide so alyne
 In al vertu; plainly to termyne,
 Late hym by thy myrrour and thy guyde,
 With the goode lyf of quene Katoryne,
 Thi blessid moder, in that othor side.

Of goode rootes, sprynggynge by vertu,
 Must growe goode fruyte be necessite;
 Whan influence by the Lord Jhesu
 Is sent adowne from his heavenly cyter,
 And God I pray, of his hygh bounte,
 Of fader and moder in thy tondre yowth
 To take ensample, reygning in thy see,
 And hien in vertu als famous and als lewth.

With hym in knyghthode to have excellence;
 Like thy moder in vertuous goodenesse;
 And like hem both, grounde thy conscience
 To love thi Lord in perfitte stabilnesse,
 Goode lyf and longe al vices to repressse,
 Love of thy lieges, pees and obeysaunce.

* ■ * ■ * ■ *
 Thy right rejoisynge of England and of Fraunce.

Prince excellent, be feythful, triewe, and stable;
 Drede God, do lawe, chastice extorcioun;
 By liberal of courage, unmutable;
 Cherisse the chirche with hole affeccioun;
 Love thy lieges of oyther regioun;
 Prefere the pees, eschewe weire and debate;
 And God shal sende from the heven downe
 Grace and goode hure to thy royal estate.

Be mercyful, nat hasty ne vengeable;
 Lightly forgyve, where as thow seest reason;
 Be rightful juge, be manly, be trefable,
 Thy right ay sugre with remyssion;
 Deme nat to sone, but make dilacion;
 Rowe on the poore and folk desconsolate;
 And God shal sende from the heven above
 Grace and good hure to thy royal estate.

In thy behestes be nat variable;
 Holde thy promesses, made of entencion;
 Be bounteous, and kyngly honorable;
 Voyde thy realme from discencion;
 Eschew flattery and adulacion;
 Folkes reconsile that stonde desolate;
 And God shal sende from the heven downe
 Grace and goode hure unto thy royal estate.

ON THE CORONATION OF HENRY VI.¹

Nov. 6, 1429.

A balade made of the same kyng.

Holde up oure yong kyng, *ave benigna*,
 And sende us peas in oure lande, *ave regina*.
Mater, *mine* bright bee thy bennys,
 Moodir of mercy, save bothe townys;
 See to oure innocent, oure crowne may be gladder,
 Holde up oure lordo that never sigh his fladir,
 No the fadir his sone reynyng in his landes;
 Grette nede have we to kepe peas amonge us.
 On a Sunday, trowly ye may trowe,
 Oure bisshoppes and oure abbottes were mytred arowe;
 Two archibisshoppes so worthely acquestid,
 And a gracious cardynalle aboute oure kyng anoyntid.
 Thre swordis there were borne, oon payntles, and two
 poyntid;
 The toon was a swerde of mercy, the oother of astate,
 The, thrid was of the empier the which ort oure gate.
 Thre dukes were in presens worshippe to increase;
 Two bisshoppis hym ledde to kepe in pece;
 Six orles in their estate shewid them alle;
 And the v. poortis beryng up the palle.
 Gracious Werwik, God hym contynue,
 Beryng up his trayne in pece and vne.
 Alle the barouns of oure lande togidur they were founden,
 The juges, the knyghtes of the shire, and the cite of
 London.
 This is procession goyng thorughe the hallo;
 Angolis mete, mauna, on his crowne did falle,

¹ Printed from MS. Lansdowne, No. 285, fol. 5, v^o.

And conceyvid in this lande the crowne to encrece,
 Evir enduryng with plenté and with peece.
 The archiebisshope of Cauntirbury appoyntid,
 The gracious kyng Harry the sixt he anoyntid
 Qure soveraigne lorde in the chief, who wille undir-
 stonde.
 The cardynalle tho was on his right hande;
 On the toothir side the chaunceller, theis lordes were
 able,
 The bisshope of Beames¹ at the same table.
 Hunteyngdone kneelyng with his septure on the right
 honde,
 Stafforde with his swerde there woorthyly holdande.
 Northfolk as a marschalle fulle woorthyly beknowe,
 Ridyng in his office, truly ye may tiowe.
 Salisbury in Bedforde office present hym there,
 Sittyng on a stede, as he conestable were.
 The v. poortis on the right hande that the palle beere,
 At the boorde on the right hande present they were.
 At the next bisshoppis and abbottes togidir were
 founden;
 And on the toothir side the citee of Londoun.
 Many othir lordis were present in that place,
 To woorshipe our soveraigne lorde with alle solace.
 Byfore the kyng, with his lordis thus sittyng alle,
 Came Phillipe Dymmok ridyng to the halle,
 Armyd clene with armure so bright,
 Like as perteynethe unto a woorthy knyght,
 As the kynges champion by heritage;
 There redy his body and his gloove to wage,
 Yif there were any man that wille say the contrary,
 That kyng Harry the sixt is crownyd truly.
 He is redy to delyvir hym, and not abasshe,
 By signement of the kyng, tyme and place.

¹ An error apparently for Rhelms

Praye we alle bothe more and lesse,
 Crist ■■■ Englonde in rest and pees,
 And God coomforthe that mykille hath loost,
 That was woun with wooshipe late never be loost.

ON THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.¹

A songe made of the duke of Burgoyne.

Thow Phollippe, foundour of new falschode,
 Distroubar of pees, capiteine of cowardise,
 Sower and distrouber, reprof of alle knyghthode,
 Which of alle Bourgoyne, that is so gret of pris,
 Thow clepest thi selfe due, whan woltow yse
 Ande in ployne feldo do mustre with thi lance?
 See how alle knyghthode thi werre doth despise,
 White thi owne falsnes alle thi myschaunce.

Remembre the, Pholippe, ande have in mynde
 Howe Henry the w^{te} of werray gentolnesse,
 Withotene thi desert, he was to the kynde,
 Ande alwa thi socoure whane thou were in destresse,
 Defende thi persone from alle wilfulnes
 Of alle thi mortal enemys of Engolonde and of France;
 Wherfor thou showest gret unkyndnesse,
 Tha which thou may wite alle thi myschaunce.

Remembre the, Pholippe, at thi begynnyng,
 Whan that thi flader, thurgh conspired treason,

¹ This piece, which appears to be imperfect, was written at the time of the defection of the duke of Burgundy from the English alliance, probably shortly before, or at the time of, the siege of Calais (1430).

It is printed from MS. Bloane, No. 252, fol. 169, r^o. It is written in a French hand, and apparently by a scribe whose mother tongue was not English, which will account for some obscurity.

By assent of Charles that callede him self kyng
Of that reame of Ffrance withouten ground resoun,
Was at Motreux broght to his confusioun;
To kyng Henry there thou dedist thy legeance;
Of lyf and land he was thi proteccioun;
Wherfor thi falsnes causethe thi myschance.

Remembre the, Phelippe, what tyme and how
To kyng Henry the fifte, by thi owne assent,
Withouten his desire, thou madest a solempne vow,
Usyng Goddes body, the holy sacrament,
To become trew lygman with good entente
To him ande his heires, withouten variance;
Now art thou fals to Gode, by thine owne assente,
The which thou may witte all thi myschance.

Remembre the, Philleppe, that thou yonge kyng,
Harry the sext, was crowned at Parys,
Johan due of Bedford thine absene excusyng
By souffisant warant made by thi devise,
He did thine homage as to the floure-de-lys;
This matere the lust not to adversité,
With thine owne falsnes and thi myschance.

Remembre the, Philleppe, how peple of *Englond*
Have bene to the evyr gentil and trew;
For whan thou wer besegede with many a thousand
Of Armynackes, they did the rescewe.¹

¹ This poem appears to end imperfectly.

PHILIPPE OF BURGUNDY AND JAMES OF SCOTLAND.¹

Philippus dux Burgundie ad Jacobum regem Scottorum.

Illustri Jacobo Scottorum principi magno,
Rogi magnifico cum fulmine castra reduco.

Responsio ad hoc per quendam Anglicum.

Burgundus Scoto, dux regi, falsus iniquo,
Philippus Jacobo, dedit hæc balnearia metro.
Et si quis querat cujus vox extitit ista,
Vox balnearis erat, ut sinxerat ipso metrista.
Nunc reflexivum parvum lapidem tibi flabo,
Atque ducem vivum si vult mihi stare probabo
Bumbardo metrico; sic scripsit amicus amico,
Rogi magnifico cum fulmine castra reduco;
Ecce teno lapidem, per sermones ita viles,
Istæ frangendo fidem, tu falsus es undique miles.
Nec Burgundorum dux, quamvis scandat ad astra,
Nec rex Scottorum, sibi sublit Anglica castra.
Per tantum fulmen, per talem nempe reductum,
Anglorum culmen adquisivit sibi fructum.
Quamvis falsidicus hic dux noster amicus,
Nobis multa dedit ut ab obsidione recedat,
Angligenis vincops tum Scotus rex habeatur,
Est falsus princeps, quia principi falsissentur.
Dux Burgundorum quia princeps falsus habetur,
Principi Scottorum sua per metra falsa fatetur.
Est ut semper erit similis, similem sibi querit;
Ambo perjuri, sunt ambo simul perituri.

¹ This short poem, printed from
H. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 160,
belongs no doubt, from internal
evidence, to the same period as the

preceding. The king of Scotland
must be James I., who was mur-
dered in the night of the 20th of
February 1437.

Philippus, Jacobus, sancti simul ambo fuere;
 Istorum reprobis contendit uterque manere.
 Nominibus similes sunt non in imagine morum;
 Sed nisi sint humiles ■■■ intrant castra polorum.
 Dux dudum victus est, per papam maledictus;
 Acriter inflictus est iste gravissimus ictus.
 Miror vos quippe, te, Jacobe, teque, Philippe,
 Cur ita temptatis nos Anglos et stimulatís.
 Si vultis pacem, populum revocate minacem;
 Si vultis guerras, proprias defendite terras.
 Expectate domi, nos proprias terras tenemus,
 Vinus pomi vestri pretio nec egemus.
 Obsecro, rex et dux, clare videatis ubique,
 Quomodo lex et lux vestrum tenebrantur utrique.
 Si non curetis vestras animas fore salvas,
 Non alias detis inferni visere valvas.
 Dux Burgundicus et rex Scoticus insidiantur,
 Sed rex Anglicus et grex publicus his dominantur.
 Anglia regna premit, Burgundia dodecus emit,
 Francia fracta tremat, Scotia victa gemit.
 Undique concursus stat et Anglia fortis et ursus;
 Anglia dum rugit, circula terra fugit.

Explicit.

ON THE SIEGE OF CALAIS. 1436.¹

*Her bigynyth the sege off Calays, in the yer off
 our Lord j. m. iiii.*

In Juyl, whan the sone schon,
 Tres, levys, and herbis grene,
 Wyth many sonder colowris,

¹ From MS. Cotton. Galba E. ix. fol. 110, v^o. The duke of Burgundy laid siege to Calais on the 19th of July 1436, and was compelled to raise it on the 25th day of the same month.

And frosch flowris that April maad,
 Can for to faynt and to fad
 Of lusty colowis and of swete odowis;
 And fruyte on tre both gret and smale
 Can for to rip and wax fulle pale;
 Than comyth tyme off labowr,
 To profit and to wischip wyne
 In armes, so ther be no treason inn,
 Untruth, ne fals colowr.
 The duk of Burgayn off grette paid
 Mad gret assambillés in landes wyd,
 In Flanders, and in Breban,
 Of his power and in chevalry
 Of Burgayn and in Pikardye,
 Of Honaw and off Holand;
 A cl. m^l, and mo,
 That weryne alle to ryd and go
 To her sper and schild,
 And mak avant Calys to wyn,
 And schuld dye that wer theryn,
 Both man, woman, and chyld.
 The wolles and the merchandyses,
 And othir god with the ynpriso,
 They wold have a morteyne.
 The walles they wold ber adowne,
 Towr, castelle, and dongon,
 Alle schuld be mad fulle playn.
 And so with red baners displayed,
 With odir in the bataylls arrayed,
 They cum the towne abote;
 Stally tentes anon they pyzle,
 Larg and long and gret of syzth;
 It was a ryalle ioivte.
 Wyth gunnes gret, and other gret ordinaunce,
 Them to help and to avance,
 With many a prowde payys,

Gayly poynted and stuffed welle,
 Ribawdes armyd with iyne and stele,
 Was never better off devyce;
 Ix. m^l cokkes to crow at nyȝth,
 And viii m^l cressetes to biene lizth;
 Cret wonder to her and se,
 How sone the had mad her logyng,
 Defens off herth and dikyng;
 Redier myȝth non be
 The erle of Mortayne mad ■ diner,
 And, "Felowys, be of good chere,
 " Off no thyng hav we no died;
 " I trust to God to se that day,
 " That, for alle the proud aray,
 " Fulle low schalle thay lowth."
 The levotenant, ser Johan Raulyf,
 That ever lovyd worschyp and dred ȝoprewe,
 Kept fulle god governance.
 And so did the baren off Dudley,
 In the castelle, the soth to say,
 Mad fulle good ordinance
 My lord Camoys at Bolyn-gate,
 The bulwerkes he did undertak,
 At no tyme wuld he fayle,
 Nether late ne erly;
 Yff any withowt wer so hardy
 It onys to assayle.
 At the Mylk-gate ser Johan Aston,
 And ser Jefferey Warbulton,
 With a many a hardy man,
 The trompetes lowd they dyd blow,
 That the duk myȝth welle know
 The wach whan yt bigan.
 The porters kept the gattes full manly,
 The gattes opyn continually,
 To wale they wer not ik;

The trow sodiers both day and nythe
 Lay on the walles in harness brigh,

 Hit was ther howss and kirk.
 The burges and men wer full boun,
 For to defend the possession,
 Hit langith to them off ryzth;
 The merchanttes wer ful redy
 At all tymes and every skry;
 Hyt was a full good syzth.
 And so did the good conyns,
 That had stuffed well the town
 With the good and vitayle,
 In town and fold to rid and go,
 And all our werkes to doo,
 In all that myzth avayle.
 The women, both yung and old,
 Wyth stones stuffed every scaffold,
 The spared not to swet ne swynk;
 With boylyng cawdrons, both grett and smalle,
 Yf they wold assaite the walle,
 All hote to gov them drynk.
 The first day ther conyns prowde
 Gan to skirmysch with schowtes lowd,
 But countred they wer anon.
 Gonners, to schow ther arte,
 Into the town in many a parte
 Schote many a fulle gret stone.
 Thankyd be God and Mary myld,
 The hurt nothir man, woman, ne chyld,
 To the howsis thow they did harm.
 Sent Barbara! than was the cry,
 Whon the stone in the stone did fly;
 They coud non other charm.
 And for the duk lay them no nere,
 At the south-west corner
 Off goines he had a song;

That anon he left that place,
And to the west end he mad a chace;
Hym thowth he bod to long.
Ther men myȝth se archerys good
Cast from them both gown and hood,
The better for to schote;
That Frensch and Flemysch was ful fayn
To ther tentes to retorn ogayn,
They saw non othir boote.
And one amang, an Iyrysch man,
Uppone his hoby swyftly ran;
Hyt was a sportfulle sygthe,
How hys darttes he did schak;
And when him lyst to leve or tak,
They had fulle gret dispite.
Allso a hownd that did hyeghe go by,
That longid to the water-bayly,
Fulle swyftly wold he ren;
And every skyrmysch to travayle,
Man and hors he wold assayle,
Fulle welle he coude them kenne.
And so hit byfelle upon a Thyrsday,
The erle of Morteyn made a fray
At seynt Peturs on the playne;
And drove them to there tentys nere,
And toke many a prisonere,
And many off them wer slayn.
And after they com with gret navi,
With bolgit schipis ful craftly,
The havyn for to han schent,
At Friday; but on the morow,
Than began the dukes sorow,
Hys schypis when he saw brent.
And so after, within ■ whyle,
Drawyn adown was hys castell
With many ■ hardy man;

His men of armes were layd to ground,
 And sun askapid with dothy's wond,
 And few off them were lan.
 The next morow, or yt was day,
 Erly the duk fled oway,
 And with hym they off Chant.
 And after Bruges and Apres both
 To folow after they wor not loth;
 Thus kept they ther avault.
 For they had very knowyng
 Off the duk off Ghent's enemyng,
 Calays to requo.
 Bycous they had not ther,
 In Flanders he sought hom for and ner,
 That ever may they yt row.
 Only God, in whom ys all ,
 Say Calays that ryall towne,
 That ever yt not wel chevo
 Unto the crown of mery Yngland,
 While that this world wyll stand,
 That nenny enemy yll grove.
 Lytelle wote the fool,
 Who myzth ches,
 What harm yt wor
 God Calays to lose. Amen.

Explicit the sege off Calays.

THE LIBEL OF ENGLISH POLICY¹

*Here beginneth the prologe of the processe of the Libelle
of Englyshe Polycye, exhortynge alle Englande to
kepe the see enviroon, and namelye the narrowe
see, shewynge whate profete cometh thereof, and
also worshype and salvacioun to Englande and
to alle Englyshe menne.*

^a The trewe processe of Englysh polycye,
Of utterwarde² to kepe thys regne³ in rest
Of oure England, that no man may denye,

^a Incipit liber de custodia maris, presertim arcta inter Doveream
et Calisiam.

¹ The date of this very important poem is fixed by internal evidence, for it was written after the siege of Calais by the duke of Burgundy, and the invasion of his territory by the duke of Gloucester, which latter event occupied the first half of the month of August 1436, and while the emperor Sigismund was still living, and therefore before his death in 1437. From the tone in which the defeat of the Flemings is spoken of we are justified in supposing that it was written soon after that event; and if we may take the marginal note in the MS. we follow (see further on, p. 183) as referring to the time at which the poem was written, its date would be fixed very nearly, for the 14th year of Henry VI ended on the 31st Aug. 1436. It is here printed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. No. 704, fol. 1, r^o (A.), collated with other copies, MS. Harl. No. 4011, fol. 120, r^o (B.), MS. Harl. No. 271, fol. 1, r^o (C.), and MS. Cotton. Vitel. E. x. fol. 192, r^o (D.) The

first of these manuscripts has the appearance, by the care and style in which it is written, of having been an original copy, intended to be sent by the author to one of the statesmen of the day, perhaps to the Lord Hungerford, whose name is inserted in the Envoy at the end. In MS. D. the title has been changed to "The Bible of Englyshe Polycé," an evident mistake. It is hardly necessary to state that Libel (*libellus*) means a little book. There are two classes of the MSS., one of which has the name of lord Hungerford at the end, the other is addressed to a high ecclesiastic, no doubt cardinal Beaufort. In this respect Hakluyt's copy agreed with the text now printed, while the three other manuscripts belong to the second class. I have not attempted to give all the verbal variations in the texts, but the readings of MS. D. are generally the most interesting.

² outward, B., D.

³ loud, B.; realm, D.

Nere say of soth but¹ one of the best
 Is thys, that who seith southe, northe, est, and² west,³
 Cheryshe marchandysse,⁴ kepe thanyralté,
 That we bee maystorez of the narowe see.

^b Ffor Sigismunde the grette emperoure,
 Whyche yet reyneth,⁵ whan he was in this londe
 Wyth kyng Herry the vth, prince of honoure,
 Here moche glorye as hym thought he founde;
 A myghty londe, whyche hadde take on honde
 To werre in Flaunce and make mortalité,
 And evere welke kept⁶ rounde aboute the see.⁷

And to the kyng thus he seyde, "My brothere,"
 Whan he perceyved too townes⁸ Calys and Dovere,
 "Of alle youre townes to chese of one and othere,
 "To kepe the see and some to come overe
 "To werre oughtwarden and youre regne⁹ to recovere,
 "Kepe these too townes, sire, and¹⁰ youre magesté,
 "As youre twayne eyne to kepe the narowe see."

Ffor if this see be kepte in tyme of werre,
 Who can here¹¹ passe withought daungers and woo?
 Who may eschape, who may myschefe dyfferre?
 What marchandysse may for by be agoo?
 Ffor neder hem muste take truse¹² every floo,
 Flaunders, and Spayne, and othere, trust to me,
 Or ellis hyndered alle for thys narowe see.

^b Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter ceteras Anglico, scilicet Calisem et Doreum, ponens suas duas digitos super duos suos oculos, ait regi, "Frater, custodite istas duas villas sicut
 "duos vestros oculos."

¹ but it is, D., with Hakluyt.

² or, B., D.

³ Men say of sothe this is the best,
 Who seith southe, ~~the~~ the, est,
 or west, B.

⁴ marchauntes, B.

⁵ whiche reigned, B.

⁶ kepe, D.

⁷ And were ever welke kept rounde
 aboute the see, B.

⁸ too townes, omitted in B.

⁹ realm, B.

¹⁰ to, B. : sewer to, D.

¹¹ thorough, D.

¹² trusse, B.

Therefore I caste me by a lytele wrytinge
 To shewe att eye thys conclusionne,
 Ffor cōceyens and for myne acquytyngē
 Ayenst God and ageyne abusyon,
 And cowardyse and to oure enmyes confusionne;
 ° Ffor iiij. thynges our noble sheueth to me,
 Kyng, shype, and¹ swerde, and pouer of the see.

Where bene oure shippes? where bene oure swardes¹
 become?

Owre enmyes bid for the shippe sette a shepe.
 Allas! oure reule halteth, hit is benome;
 Who dare weel say that lordeshyppe shulde take
 kepe?

I wolde asaye, thoughe myne herte gynne to wepe,
 To do thys werke, yf we wole ever the,
 Ffor verry shame, to kepe aboute the see.

Shalle any prynce, what so be hys name,²
 Whecho hathe nobles moche lyche oures,
 Be lorde of see, and³ Fflemmyngis to oure blame⁴
 Stoppe us, take us, and so make fade the floures
 Of Englysshe state,⁵ and disteyne oure honnoures?
 Ffor cowardyse, allas! hit shulde so be;
 Therefore I gynne to wryte now of the see.

Quatuor considerantur in moneta Anglica quæ dicitur
noble, scilicet, rex, navis, et gladius, qui designant potestatem
 Anglicorum super mare, in quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones
 minores et Flandrenses et cæteri dicunt Anglicis, "tollite de vestro
 nobile navem, et imponite ovem," intendentes quod, sicut quon-
 dam tempore Edwardi tertii Angli erant domini maris, modo
 his diebus sunt recordes, victi, et ad bellandum et mare obser-
 vandum velut oves; et sicut sæpissime patet derisio oppro-
 brii Anglicorum, etc.

¹ *wher ben thei*, B.

² *Shall the duke of Burgoyne be*
his name, D.

³ *as*, B.

⁴ *out of fame*, D.

⁵ *astate*, B.

*Of the commodityes of Spayne and of Flaunders.
The fyrste chapitre.*

Knowe welles alle men that profites¹ in certayne,
Commodityes called, comynge² out of Spayne,
And marchandy, who so wyll wote what that is
³ Bone fygues, raysyns, wyne lastarde, and dates;
And lycoris, Syvyll oyle, and grayne,
Whyte⁴ Castello sope, and wax, is not in vayne;⁵
Tren, wolle, wadmole, gotesol, kydesol also,
For poynt-makers fulle needfulle be the ij.;
Saffron, quiksilver, wheche are Spaynes marchandy,⁶
Is⁷ into Flaunders shipped fulle craftylye,
Unto Bruges, as to here staple fyre,
The haven of⁸ Sluse here havens⁹ for here repayre,
Wheche is cleped Swyn, thaire shippes gydyng,
Where many vessell¹⁰ and sayre are abydyng.
But these marchandes, wyth there shippes greet,
And such chassars as they lye and gette
By the wayes, most need take one houle
By the costes to passe of oure Englonde,
Botwyxt Dover and Calys, thys is no doute,
Who can weelle ellis such mater bringe aboute.

And whenne these seyde marchantz discharged¹⁰ be
Of marchandy in Flaunders nere the see,

¹ Ifygues, raysyns, wyne lastarde, dates, lyquoryce, Cyvyll oyle, grayne, white Castello sope, wax, ren, wadmolle, gotesolle, kydesolle, saffron, quikesilver.

¹ Here begynnethe the profites, B.

² With commodityes that comethe,
B. Comodities called out of, D.

³ With, D.

⁴ and were certayn, B.; and wot,
armours in vayne, D.

⁵ This and the preceding line are
transposed in D.

⁶ This, D.

⁷ To have at, B.

⁸ they haven, D.

⁹ many a vessel are lymng, B.

¹⁰ charged, B.

Than they be charged agayn wyth marchaundy
That to Fflaundres bougeth full rychelye;
Ffyne clothe of Ipre,¹ that named is better than oure is,²
Cloothe of Curtryke,³ fyne cloothe of alle coloures,
Moche ffustyane and also lynen cloothe.

But ye Fflemmyngis, yf⁴ ye be not wrothe,
The grete substaunce of youre cloothe, at the fulle,⁵
Ye wot ye make hit of youre⁶ Englissh wolle.

Thanne may hit not synke in mannes brayne,
But that hit most, this marchaundy of Spayne,
But ought and inne by oure costes passe;
He that seyde nay, in wytte was lyche an asse.⁷
Thus if thys see werre kepte, I dare well sayne,
Wee shulde have pease with the growndes tweyne.
Ffor Spayne and Fflaundes is as yche othere brothere,
And nethere may well lyve wythowght othere.
The⁸ may not lyven to mayntene there degrees,
Wythowght oure Englysshe commodytees,
Wolle and tynne; for the wolle of Englonde
Susteyneth the comons Fflemmyngis,⁹ I understonde.

Thane yf Englonde wolde hys wolle restroyne
Ffrome Fflaundres, thys ffoloweth in certayne,
Fflaundres of nede must wyth us have pease,
Or ellis he is distroyde, wythowght lees.
Also yef Fflaundres thus distroyed bee,
Some marchaundy of Spayne wolle nevere ithe;¹⁰
Ffor distroyed hit is, and, as in cheffe,
The wolle of Spayne hit cometh not to preffe,
But if it be toseéd¹¹ and menged welle
Amonges Englysshe wolle the gretter delle.

¹ *Ipur*, B.

² *than oures*, B.

³ *Curryk*, B.

⁴ *though*, B.

⁵ *atte fulle*, B.

The clothe ye make of ou, B.

⁷ *He that seith nay, in witte* ■
like an asse, B.

⁸ *That*, D.

⁹ ■ *of Flaunders*, D.

¹⁰ *wolle* ■ *thee*, B.

¹¹ *tosed*, B., D.; *costed*, Hakl.

Ffor Spayneshe wolles in Flaunders draped¹ is,
 And evere hath be, that men have mynde of this;²
 And yet wolles is one of the chesse marchaundy
 That longeth to Spayne, who so well aspye;³
 Hit is of lytelle valoure, trust unto me,
 Wyth Englyshe wolles but if it menged be.
 Thus if the see be kepte, then hearken hedere,
 Yf those ij. londes comene not⁴ togodere,
 So that the flete of Flaunders passe nought,
 That in the narrow see he be not brought
 Into the Rochelle, to feche⁵ the fumose⁶ wine,
 Nere into Britounes bay for salt so syne,
 What is then Spayne? what is Flaunders also?
 As who sayde,⁷ nought, the thyrste is ago.
 Ffor the lytelle londe of Flaunders is
 But ■ staple to other londes, iwys,
 And alle that groweth in Flaunders, greyn and sede,
 May not ■ moneth fynde hem mote of⁸ brede.
 What hath thence Flaunders, be Flemmyngis lesse or
 lothe,
 But a lytelle mader and Flemmysh clothe?
 By drapinge⁹ of oure wolles in substance
 Lyven here comons, this is here governaunce;
 Wythout whyche they may not leve at ease,
 Thus moste hem¹⁰ serve, or wyth us most have penesse.

Of the commoditees of Portingalle. The ij. capte.

The marchaundy also of Portyngale
 To¹¹ dyverse londes borne¹² into sale

¹ draped, D.

² hath mynd us, B.; or thre, D.

³ list aspye, B.

⁴ can not come, D.

⁵ seke, B.

⁶ fumouse, D.

⁷ seith, B, D.

⁸ and, D., and so Hahl.

⁹ drapynq, D.

¹⁰ that, B.

¹¹ Into, B.

¹² come, B.

Portyngaleis wyth us have trought one hande,¹
 Whose marchaundy cometh moche into Englande.
 They bene oure² ffrendes wyth there commoditez,
 And wee Englysshe passen into there countrees.
 ■ Here londe hathe oyle,³ wyne, osey, wex, and greyne,
 Ffygues, reysyns, hony, and cordeweyne;
 Dates and salt, hydes, and suche marchaundy.
 And if they wolde to Fflaundres passe forth bye,⁴
 They schulde not be suffiede ones ner twyes,
 Ffor supportyngge of oure cruelle enmyes;
 That is to saye Fflemmyngis wyth here⁵ gyle,
 Ffor changeable they are in lytelle whyle.⁶
 Than⁷ I conclude by resons many moo,
 Yf wee sufferede nethere ffiende nere ffoo,
 What soo⁸ enmyes and so supportyngge,⁹
 Passe for-by us in tyme of werryngge,
 Sothe oure ffiendys wolde not bene in causse,
 Of oure hyndrange, yf reason lede thys clausse.
 Than nede frome Fflaundres pease shulde by to us
 sought,
 And othere londes shulde seche pease, doute nought.
 Ffor Fflaundres is staple, as men tell me,
 To alle¹⁰ nacions of Crystianté.

■ Wynne, oyle, osey, wex, greyne, ffygues, reysyns, hony, corde-
 weyne, dates, salt, hydes.

¹ have truse in honde, B.; hath
 trouth in honde, D.

² your, D.

³ This word is supplied from B;
 wyn, oyle, wex, D.

⁴ fore-bye, B.; forbye, D.

⁵ full of, D.

⁶ For they ■ never trowe any
 whyle, D.

■ Whan, A

⁸ for, D.

⁹ What for enemye and supportyng,
 B.

■ Of alle, B.; To alle maner n., D.

*The commodytés of Pety¹ Brytayne, wyth here revers
on the see The iij. capitle.*

Fforthermore to wrytene I hame fayne,
Somwhate spokyng of the Lytell Bretayne;
Commodité therof there is and was,²
Salt and wynes, crosse clothe,³ and canvasso;
And the londe of Flaunders sekerly
Is the staple of there marchaundy;
Wheche marchaundy may not passe away,
But by the coste of Englonde, this is no may.
And of this Bretayn, who so trewth lovys,⁴
Are⁵ the grettest rovers and the grettest theovys
That have bene in the see many oone yere,⁶
That oure marchauntes have bowght full dere,⁷
Efor they have take notable gode of oures
On thys seyde see,⁸ these false coloured pelours,⁹
Called of Seynt Malouse, and elles where,
Wheche to there duke none obeysaunce woll bere.
Wyth suche colours we have bene hindred sore,
And fayned pease is called no werre herefore.
Thus they have bene in dyverse costes manye
Ofoure England, mo than reherse can I;
In Northfolke coostes, and othere places aboutte,
And robbed and brente and slayne by many a route,
And they have also ransomed tounes by tounes,¹⁰
That into the regnes of best¹¹ have romme there soune.

¹ Latelle, B.

² The commodities therof is and was, B; Comodités therof that is and was, D.

³ crossecloth, D.

⁴ the trouthe beleves, B.

⁵ A. reads *and*, an evident error of the scribe; the whole line stands

thus in B.: *Are the grettest robbers and theves.*

⁶ many ■ yere, B.

⁷ bought alle to dere, B.

⁸ On this syde the see, D.

⁹ these seid pillours, B.

¹⁰ tounes to tounes, B.; towne and towne, D.

¹¹ of the best, D.

Whyche hath bene ruth unto thys realme and shame;
 They that the see shulde kepe are moche to blame.
 Ffor Bretayne is of easy reputasyoun,
 And Seynt Malouse turneth hom to reprobacioun.

*A storie of kyng Edwarde the iijth hys ordynauce
 for Bretayne.*

¶ Here bryng I in a storye to me lente,
 What a goode squyere¹ in tyme of parlamento,
 Toke unto me wello wretene in ■ scrowe,
 That I have comonde² botho wyth hygh and lowe,
 Of whyche all mone accordene in to one,
 That hit was done not monye yoris³ agone,
 But when noble kyng Edwarde the therde
 Regned in grace, ryght thus hit betyde.
 Ffor he hadde a manere gelozye
 To hys marchauntes, and lowede⁴ hem hartelye.
 He felde⁵ the voyces to coule well the see,⁶
 Whereby marchauntes myght have prosperid,
 That fro⁷ Harflew and Houndflew⁸ dyd he makene,
 And grete werres that tyme were undertakene
 Betwyx the kyng and the duke of Bretayne;
 At laste to falle to pease botho were they feyne.

¶ Historia, ostendens quam ordinationem rex Edwardus iij^{us} fecit contra depredatores marinos Britannie minoris, ad debellandum eos et subjugandum minores Britannos, non obstante colore duels eorum, per excusationem sti dicentis se non posse domare suos inobedientes, et insubjicibiles ei erant.

¹ That Hampton esquier, D.
 ■ I comoned with bothe, B.; amen-
 did, D.

² I daies, D.

³ loved, B.

⁴ felte, D.

⁵ He felt wels the waies the rules
 of the see, B.

⁷ therfor, B.

⁸ Harflew and Houndflew, B.;
 Harflew and Houndflew, D.

Upon the whycho, made by convencioun,
 Oure marchaundys made hem rody bounce
 Towardle Bretayne to lede here marchaundy,
 Wenyng hem frondes, and wente forthe boldelye.¹
 But sone anon oure marchaundes were itake,
 And wee spede nevere the bettere for treuse sake.
 They loste here goode, here moné, and spendyng;²
 But there complaynte come³ unto the kyng.
 Then wax he wrothe, and to the duke he sente,
 And compleyned that⁴ such harme was hente
 By convencioun, and pence made so refused.
 Whiche duke sent agayne, and hym excused,
 Rehersyng that the mounte of Seynte Michole
 And⁵ Seynt Malouise wolde never a dele
 By subject unto his⁶ governaunce,
 Nor be under hys obeysaunce;
 And so they did withowten hym that dede.
 But whan the kyng anon had taken hede,
 He in his herte set a jugement,⁷
 Wythoute callynge of ony parlemente,
 Or grete tary to take longe avyse,
 To fortifye anon he dyd devyse
 Of Englysshe townes iij., that is to seye
 Derthmouth, Plymmouth, the third it is Wfowoye,
 And gaffe⁸ hem helpe and notable puissance,
 Wyth insistance set⁹ them in governaunce
 Upon Pety Bretayn¹⁰ for to werre,
 That gode see-mene wolde no more deferre,

¹ and thedir yode boldly, B.

² They lost her navy, her goode,
and here spendinge, D. Hakluyt
has navy in place of moné.

³ thei complayned hem, B.

⁴ how, B.

⁵ Nor, B.

⁶ under his, B.

⁷ Amender he wold none make, he
side.

Wherefor the kyng in hart sette
a jugement, B.

⁸ gave hem, D.

⁹ to sette, B.

¹⁰ Little Bretaine, B.

But bete thome home, and made¹ they myght not route,
 Tooke prysoners, and lernyd hem for to loutte.
 And ofte the duke an ensample wysse
 Wrote to the kyng, as he ffyrste dyd dewysse,
 Hym excusynge; but oure mony wode²
 Wyth grete poure passed overe the ffloode,
 And verrie forth into the³ dukes londe,
 And had neygh destrued free and bonde.⁴
 But than⁵ the duke knewe⁶ that the townes thre
 Shulde have loste all hys natalo cuntree,⁷
 Undertoke by sewris trewe, not false,
 For Mount Mychelle and Seinte Malouse als,
 And othore partees⁸ of the Lytelle Bretaynne,
 Whych to obeye, as seyde was, were nott fayne,
 The duke hym selfe for all dyd undertake,
 Wyth all hys herte a full pease dyd he make.⁹
 So that in all the lyffe tyme of the kyng
 Marchaundes hadde pease wythowtene werryng.
 He made a statute for Lombardes in thys londe,
 That they shulde in no wysse take one honde
 Here to onhabite, her¹⁰ to charge and to dyscharge,
 Butt xl. dayes, nomore tyme had they large.
 * Thys good kyng, be wytt of suche apprefe,
 Kopte hys marchauntes and¹¹ the see fro myschoffe.

■ *Utum statutum regis Edwardi tertii pro Lombardis.*

* *That, B. | made is omitted in A., and is here supplied from D. and Hinklyt.*

■ *Than the duke in like wise
 Wrote to the kyng for the truse.
 The kyng answered how his
 mayne wode, B.
 And after the duke in semblable
 wysse
 Wrote to the kyng, as he ffirst
 did devise,
 Hym excusynge, but our navy
 wode, D.*

■ *weyrd in the, D.*

■ *To destroye the dukes londe,
 Ayenst his wille, I undirstonde,*

B.

■ *And whan, B.*

■ *sey, B.*

■ *Shold have destroyed his countre,
 B.; notable contrd, D.*

■ *And for alle the parties, B.*

■ *These two lines omitted in B.*

■ *Omitted in B. and D.*

■ *in, B.*

*Of the commodites of Scotlonde, and drapyng of her
wolle in Fflaundres. The iiij. chapitre.*

Moreover¹ of Scotlonde the commoditees
²Ar ffelles, hydes, and of wolles the fleesso.
 And alle thesse muste passe bye us aweye
 Into Fflaundres by Englonde, sothe to saye.³
 And alle here wolles was draped⁴ for to selle
 In the tounes of Poporynge and of Belle,
 Whycho my lord of⁵ Gloucestre wyth ire⁶
 Bfor here ffalshede sett upon a ffyre.
⁷And yett they of Belle and Poporynge
 Cowde never drapere⁸ here wolles for any thyng,
 But if they hadde Englysshe woll wythhallo.
 Oure godely wolles that⁹ is so generallo
 Nedefulle to hem in Spayne and Scotlonde als,
 And othere costis, this sentence is not fals.
 Ye worthi marchauntes, I do it upon yow,
 I have this lerned, ye wott wel where and howe;¹⁰
 Ye wotte the staple¹¹ of that marchaundy
 Of this Scotlonde is Fflaundres sokerly.¹²
 And¹³ the Scottes bene charged, knowen¹⁴ at the eye,¹⁵
 Out of Fflaundres wyth lytyll mercery,

¹ Ffelles, hydes, wollesflees, owtewarde.

² Ille patet de incendio villarum de Poporynge et de Belle per ducem Gloucestre et suos.

³ Mercerye, haberdasherye, cuttowhels, barowes, homeward.

⁴ Also over alle Sc., B.

⁵ this is no nay, B.

⁶ draped, D.

⁷ the duke of, B.

⁸ in grete ire, B.; in ire, D.

⁹ draps, B.; draper, D.

¹⁰ it, B., D.

¹¹ That this is trew, ye wote welc how, B.

¹² For the staple, B.

¹³ truly, B.

¹⁴ Than, B.

¹⁵ This word is omitted by B.

¹⁶ known that ye, D.

And grete plentee of haburdasshers¹ ware,
 And halfe hero shippes² wyth carle wholys baro,
 And wyth barowes, are laden ■ in substaunce,
 Thus moste rude ware be in here chevesaunce;
 So they may not forbere thys Fflemyshe londe.
 Therefor if we wolde manly take on honde
 To kepe this see fro Flaundres and fro Spayne,
 And fro Scotelonde, lych as fro Pety³ Bretayne,
 Wee schulde ryght sone have pease for all here bostis;
 Ffor they muste nede passe by oure Englysshe costis.

*Of the commoditees of Pruse,⁴ and Hyghe Duch
 menne, and Esterlynges. The v. chapitle.*

Now goo wee fforthe to the commoditees
 That cometh to⁵ Pruse in too manere degrees;
 Ffor too manere peple have suche use,
 This is to saye, Highe Duch men of⁶ Pruse⁷
 And Esterlynges, whyche myghte not be forborne
 Oute of Fflaundres, but it were verely lorne.
 Ffor they bringe in⁸ the substaunce of the⁹ beere
 That they drynken felo¹⁰ to goode chepe, not dere.¹¹
 Ye¹² have herde that twoo Fflemynynges togedere
 Wol undertake, or they goo ony whethere,
 Or they rise onys, to drinke a barelle fullo
 Of gode berkynne;¹³ so soie they hale and pulle,

■ Nota de proprietatibus et conditionibus populorum Flandren-
 sium.

¹ haberdasshe, B; haburdasshry, D.

² B, omits these three words.

³ Litelle, B.

⁴ Spruce, D.

⁵ from, D, and Hakluyt.

⁶ and, B.

⁷ Spruce, D.

⁸ hem, B.

⁹ here, B.; their, D.

¹⁰ selle, D.

¹¹ thei drynke good chepe dere, B.

¹² I, B.

¹³ bere, B.; ber chyn, D.

Undre the borde they piessen as they sitte;
 This cometh of covenant¹ of ■ worthy² wille.
 Wythoute Calise in ther buttere the³ coked,
 Whan they fledo⁴ home, and whon they loysore⁵ loked
 To holde here sege, they wente lyke⁶ as a doo;
 Wel was that Flemmyngo that myght trusse and goo.
 Efor fere they turned bake,⁷ and hyede faste;
 Mi lorde of⁸ Gloucestre made hem⁹ so¹⁰ agaste
 Wyth his commyngo, and sought hem in here londe,
 And brente and slowe as he hadde take on londe;
 So thatoure enmyse¹¹ durste not hyde nor stene,
 They fledo to nowe,¹² they durste no more appeere.
 Then his meyn¹³ seyden that he was dede,
 Till we were goo, ther was non bettir rede.
 Fy! cowardy knyghthode was aslepe,
 As dede their duk yn new they did hym kepe,¹⁴
 Rebukede sore for evere so shamefully
 Unto here uttere overelastinge vylany.

¹ Nota enormitatem scurrilitatis Flandrensium quando fugas fecerunt relinquentes Caliscam.

² Nota de fuga Flandrensium propter adventum strenuissimæ principis duois Gloucestrensis.

³ Illic redarguitur vecordia fugientium, in perpetuum eorum memoriam.

¹ *convenyght*, D.

² *cometh of ■ unworthy*, B.

³ *boture thei*, B.

⁴ *wente*, D.

⁵ *love*, B.

⁶ *yede light*, B. † *went lyght*, D.

⁷ *And her prince touned his bak*, D.

⁸ *The duke of*, B.

⁹ *hym*, D.

¹⁰ *so*, B.

¹¹ *their duke*, D.

¹² *meie*, B.; *He was in new*, D.

¹³ This and the three preceding lines, omitted in A., are supplied from D.

After bere and bacon, odre gode commodités usene.

° Now bere and bacon bone fro Pruse¹ ibroughte
 Into Fflaundres, as loved and fero isoughte;²
 Osmonde, coppre, bow-staffes, stile,³ and wex,
 Peltre-waxe,⁴ and grey, pych, terre, borde, and flox,
 And Coleyne threde, fustiane, and canvase,
 Carde, bokeram, of olde tyme thus it was.
 But the Fflemmyngis amonge these thinges dero
 In comen lowen⁵ beste bacon and bere.
 Thus am they hogges, and drynkyn wole ataunt,
 Ffare wele, Flemynge, hay, harys, hay, avaunt.⁶
 Also Pruse⁷ mene make here aventure
 Of plate of sylvere, of⁸ wegges gode and sure
 In grete plente, whiche they bringe and bye
 Oute of londes of Bealme⁹ and Hungrye;
 Whiche is encrease ful grete unto¹⁰ thys londe.
 And thei bene ladon,¹¹ I understonde,
 Wyth wolle clothe alle¹² manere of coloures,
 By dyers craftes ful dyverse that bene oures.¹³
 And they aventure ful gretly unto the Baye
 For salte, that is nedefulle wythoute naye.
 Thus if they wolde not oure frendys bec,
 Woe myght lyghtlye¹⁴ stope hem in the see;
 They shulde not passe oure streames wythoutene leve,
 It wolde not be, but if we shulde hem greve.

° Bere, bacon, osmonde, coppre, bowestaves, stile, wex, peltre-ware, grey, pyche, tarre, borde, flex, Coleyne threde, fustiane, canvas, carde, bokerame, sylver plate, wegges of silvere and metall.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>¹ Spruce, D.
 ² Flanders, laden ferre isought, B.
 ³ stile, D.
 ⁴ Peltware, B.
 ⁵ loven, B., D.
 ⁶ These two lines are added from D.
 ⁷ Spruce, D.</p> | <p>⁸ and, B.
 ⁹ Beam, B.; Beame, D.
 ¹⁰ in, B.
 ¹¹ lade agayn, B.
 ¹² of alle, B.
 ¹³ whiche awayle therof is oures, B.
 ¹⁴ gretly, B.</p> |
|--|---|

*Of the commodities of the Januays, and here grette
karrekys.¹ The vij. chapille.*

The Januays comyne in sondre wyses
 Into this londe, wyth dyverse marchaundyses,
 In grete karrekis² arrayde wythouten lake,
 Wyth clothes of golde, silke,³ and pepir blake
 They bringe wyth hem, and of wood⁴ grote plenty,
 Wolle, oyle, woad aschen, by wessholle⁵ in the see,
 Coton, roche-alum, and gode golde of Jone.⁶
 And they be charged wyth wolle ageyne, I wene,
 And wollene clothe of owres of colours alle.
 And they aventure, as ofte it dothe byfalle,
 Into Flaundes wyth such thynges as they bye,
 That is here cheffe staple sykorye;
 And if they wolde be oure fulle onnemyse,
 They shulde not passe our stamoz with merchaundyse.

*The commodities and nyctres of Venicyans and
Florentynes, with there galees. The vij. chapille.*

The grote galees of Vences and Florence
 Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
 Alle spicerye and of grocers wares,
 Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,
 Apes, and japes, and marmusetten tayledo,
 Nifles, trifles,⁷ that litelle have availedo,⁸
 And thynges⁹ wyth whiche they sotely blere oure eye,
 Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye;¹⁰

¹ carrikes, B.

² carrikes, B.

³ silke, B.; of golde and sylke, D.

⁴ woad, B.

⁵ vessels, B.

⁶ Gene, D.

⁷ Nyffels and tryffels, D.

⁸ This line, omitted in A., is here given from B.

⁹ And other thynges, B.

¹⁰ Whiche thynges be not duryng that we bye, B.

pffor moche of thys chaffare that is wastable
 Mighte be forborne for dore and dysseuable.¹
 And that² I wene, as for infirmitees,
 In oure Englonde is³ suche comoditees,
 Wythowten helpo of any othere londe,
 Whych by wytte and practike bethe ifounde,
 That alle humois myght be voyded sure;
 Whych that we gledre wyth oure Englysh cure,
 That wee shuldo have no nede to skamonye,
 Turbit, enforbe, correcte,⁴ diagredie,⁵
 Rubarde, sené, and yet they bene to⁶ nedefulle;
 But I knowe thynges also⁷ spodefulle,
 That growene here, as these thynges seydo;⁸
 Lett of this matere no mane be dysmayde,
 But that a man may voyde⁹ infirmytee
 Wythoute degrees fet¹⁰ fro beyonde the see.
 And yett¹¹ there shuldo excepte be ony thyng,
 It were but sugre, truste to my seyinge.¹²
 He that trustith not to my seyinge and sentence,
 Lett hym better sorche experience.
 In this mater I wole not forthore preso,¹³
 Who so not beleveth, let hym leue and sease.¹⁴
 Thus these galoise for this lykyng ware,
 And etyng ware,¹⁵ bere hens oure beste chaffare,

¹ *Illo de materialibus et ingredientibus receptas medicinales.*

² *Of druges materiales for recyptes of medicines.*

¹ *for thei ben disceivable, B.*

² *yitt, B.*

³ *are, B. ; our londe are, D.*

⁴ *corrected, D.*

⁵ *sagardys, B.*

⁶ *tibo, B.*

⁷ *But ther ben thynges also, B.*

⁸ *fayned, B.*

⁹ *byde, D.*

¹⁰ *Without thisse drugges, B ;
drouggs fett, D.*

¹¹ *yf, B. ; yf, D.*

¹² *senynge, B.*

¹³ *plese, B.*

¹⁴ *ceuse, B.*

¹⁵ *then e, B.*

¹⁶ *stufte, D.*

Clotho, wolle, and tynne, whiche, as I seyde¹ beforne,
 Oute of this londe werste myghte² be forborne.
 Ffor echo other londe of necessite³
 Have grete neede to by some of the thre;⁴
 And woo resseyve of⁵ hem into this cooste
 Ware and chaffare that lyghtlye wol be loste.
 And wolde Jhesu that oure lordis wolde
 Considre this wel, both yonge and olde;
 Namelye olde,⁶ that have experiance,
 That myghte the yonge exorton to prudence.
 What harme, what hurt, and what hinderaunce
 Is done to us unto youre⁷ grete grevaunce,
 Of suche londes and of suche⁸ nacions?
 As experte men knowe⁹ by probacions;
 By wretynge as discoued¹⁰ oure counsailes,
 And false coloure alwey the countertayles
 Of oure¹¹ emnyes, that dothe us hinderinge
 Unto oure goodes, oure realme,¹² and to the kyng;
 As wysse men have shewen¹³ welles at oye,
 And alle this is colowred by marchaundrye.

An ensampelle of deseytles.

Also they bere the golde owte of thys londe,
 And souketh the thryfte away oute of oure honde,
 As the waffore¹⁴ souketh the honye fro the beo,
 So mynneth¹⁵ oure commodite.
 Now wolle ye here how they in Cotteswoldo
 Were wonte to borowe, or they schulde¹⁶ be holdo,

¹ as is said, B.

² myght worse, B.

³ one of these thre, B.

⁴ for, B.

⁵ elder, B.

⁶ oure, B.

⁷ this, B.

⁸ shew, B.; proved, D.

⁹ By wrytynge are discovered, B.;
and discouered, D.

¹⁰ Alle way of our, D.

¹¹ the ryng, D.

¹² warpe, B., D.

¹³ mynneth, B.; mynneth, D.

¹⁴ as it shold, B.

Here wolke gode,¹ as for yere and yere,²
 Of clothe and tynne they did in lych³ manere,
 And in her galeys schyppe this marchaundye?
 Than sone at Venice of them men wol it bye,
 Then utterne⁴ there the chaffare be the payse.
 And lyghtly als⁵ ther they make her reys.⁶
 And whan the gode bene at Venice solde,
 Than to carrye her chaunge they ben fulle bolde
 Into Flaundres, whan thei this money have,
 They wyll it profre ther sotelté to save,
 To Englysshe marchaundis to yove it oute by es-
 chaunge,
 To be paid agayn, thei make not straunge,⁷
 Here in Englonde, semyng for the better,
 At the roseyvinge and syght of the lettir,⁸
 By iiij. pens lesse⁹ in the noble rounde,
 That is xij. pens in¹⁰ the golden ponde.
 And yf we wolke have of paymente,
 A fulle monythe than moste hym nedes assente,
 To viij. pens losse, that is shellyngis tweyne,
 In the Englysshe ponde, ■ eftesonos ageyno
 Ffor ij. monthes xij. pens must be paye,
 In the Englysshe ponde, what is that to soye,
 But ij. shyllingis, so that in ponde felle
 Ffor hurte and harme harde is wyth hem to dulle.
 And whenne Englysshe marchaundys¹¹ have contente
 This eschaunge in Englonde of¹² assente,
 That these seyde Venecianos have in wone,¹³
 And Florentynes, to bere here golde sone

¹ wolles good, B.

² fro yere to yere, B., D

³ like, B., D.

⁴ Thei utter, B.

⁵ also, B.

⁶ weyes, D.

⁷ This line is added from B. and D.

⁸ Added also from D.

⁹ losse, B.

¹⁰ xij. d. losse in, B.

¹¹ marchauntes, B.

¹² by, B.

¹³ have mowen, D.

Overe the ■ into Flaundres ageyne.
 And thus they lyve in Flaundres, sothe to sayne,
 And in London, wyth suche chevesaunce
 That men calle usur^e, to oure losse and hinderaunce.

Another example of disceytle.

Now listen welle how they made us a balyse
 Whan they borwed¹ at the towne of Caloyse,
 As they were wonte, ther wolde that was hem lente,
 Ffor yere and² yere they schulde make paymente,
 And some tyme als too yere and too yere;
 This was fayre lone,³ but yett wolde ye here
 How they to Bruges⁴ wolde her wolles carye,
 And for hem take paymente wythouten tarye,
 And selle it faste for redy money in honde?
 Ffor fifty ponde of money of losse they wolde not
 wende
 In a thousande ponde, and lyve therebye,
 Tylle the day of paymente easye,
 Some⁵ ageyne in exchaunge makynge,
 Ffulle lyke usurie, ■ mon make undertakynge.
 Than whan thys payment of a thowsande ponde
 Was welle contente, they shulde have chaffare sounde,
 Yff they wolde fro the staple fulle
 Reseyve ageyne ther thousande⁶ ponde in wolle.
 And thus they wold, if we will beleve,
 Wypen our nose with our owne sleve;
 Thow this proverbe be homly and undecew,
 Yet be liklynesse it is for soth fulle trow.⁷

¹ *borrowed*, B., D.

² *to*, B., D.

³ *love*, D.

⁴ *Brigges*, B.

⁵ *Come*, B., D.

⁶ *iii. thousand*, B.

⁷ This and the preceding three lines are added from D., which omits the four which follow.

In Cotteswold also they ryde aboute,
 And al Englonde, and bien, wythouten doute,
 What them liste, wythe fredome and fraunchise,
 More then we Englysshe may getyn in any wyse.
 But wolde God that, wythoute lenger delayse,
 These galeise wote unfraught in¹ xl. daies,
 And in the xl. dayes charged ageyne;
 And that they myght be put to certeyne²
 To go to oste, as wee there wyth hem doo.³
 It were expediente that they did right soo
 As woo do there; if the kynge wolde itt,
 Al what worschip wold falle to Englysshe wille!
 What profite also to cure marchaundyng,
 Whiche wolde of nede be cherished hartelye!
 For I wolde wote why nowe owre navy fayleth,
 When many a foe us at oure dorre assayleth,
 Now in⁴ these dayes, that, if there come a nede,
 What navy shulde wee have it is to drede.
 In Denmarke was fulle noble conquerours
 In tyme passed, fulle worthy worriours,
 Whiche when they had here marchaundes destroyde,
 To povertie they felle, thus were they noyode;
 And so they stonde at myscheffe at this daye;
 This lerned I late, welte wryten, this no nayr.⁵
 Therefore be ware, I can no better wylle,⁶
 Yf grace it wole of other mennys perylle;
 For yef marchaundes were cherysshede to here spede,
 We were not lykelye to fayle⁷ in ony nede.

¹ A woffulle compleyn[te] of lake of navy if nede come.

² A storye of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of her marchaundes, by presidents of master Richard Barnet shewynge in a rolle.

¹ *withyn*, D.

² *in certayn*, B., D.

³ *as* ~~in~~ *in Flumders doo*, D.

⁴ *at*, D.

⁵ *This lerned I late, it is no nayr*,

B., D.

⁶ *while*, D.

⁷ *like to falle*, B.

Yff they bee riche, than in prosperité
 Schalbe oure londe, lordes, and comonté.¹
 And in worship nowe thinke I on the sonne
 Of marchaundy, Richarde of Whitingdone,²
 That loode-sterre and chefe chosen floure,
 Whate hathe by hym 'oure England of honoure?
 And whate profito hathe bene of his richesse?
 And yet lasteth dayly in worthinesse,
 That penne and papere may not me suffice
 Him to describe, so high he was of prise;
 Above marchaundis to sette him one of the beste,
 I can no more, but God have hym in reste.³

Now the principalle matere.

" What reason is it that wee schulde⁴ go to oste⁵
 In there cuntrees, and in this Englisshe coste
 They schulde⁶ not so, but have more liberté
 Than wee oure selfe? now, alle so mot I the,
 I wolde men shulde to geftes⁷ take no hede
 That lettith oure thinge publique for to spede;
 Ffor this wee see welle every day at eye,
 Geftes and festes stopene oure pollicye.

¹ Memoire of the sonne of marchaunde, Ric. of Whytingdone.

² Nota, here is for to be notyde that sithene this seyde ordynance of writings there have be ordeynede to go to oste in Londone, etc.³ But how this policie is subverted, it is mervelle to knowe, be wyles and gyles, whiche wol be in othere place declarede.

⁴ *comynalte*, B.

⁵ *Richard Whytington*, D.

⁶ This passage relating to Richard Whittington is not found in B.

⁷ *shalle*, B.

⁸ *hoste*, D.

⁹ *shalle*, B.

¹⁰ *yiftes*, B.; *giftis*, D.

Now se that fooles bene eyther they or wee,
 But evere wee have the warse in this contré,
 Therefore lett hem unto coste¹ go here,
 Or be wee free wyth hem in like manere
 In there cuntres; and if it wolle not bee,
 Compelle them unto coste,² and ye shalle see
 Moche avauntage and mucho profite arise,
 Moche more than I write can in any wyse.

Of oure charge and discharge³ at her martis.

Conseyve welle here that Englysshe men at martis
 Be discharged, for alle her craftes and artes,
 In the Braban of her marchaundy
 In xiiij. dayes, and ageyne hastely
 In the same dayes xiiij. are charged efte;
 And yf they byde lenger alle is berefte,
 Anone they schulde forfeit here godes alle,
 Or marchaundy, it schulde no bettere falla.
 And wee to martis of Braban charged bene
 Wyth Englyssh clothe, fulle gode and feyre to seyne,
 Wee bene ageyne charged wyth merceyre,
 Haburdasshere⁴ ware, and wyth grocerye.
 To whyche martis, that Englisshe men call feyres,
 Iche nacion ofte maketh here repayeres,
 Englysshe and Frensh, Lumbardes, Januayes,⁵
 Cathalones,⁶ theder they take here wayes,
 Scottes, Spaynardes, Iresshmen there abydes,
 Wythe grete plenté bringinge of salte hydes.⁷

¹ host, B., D.; oste, Hakl.

² host, B., D.; oste, Hakl.

³ discharge and charge, B.

⁴ Haberdassh, B.; haburdashe, D.

⁵ Lombardis, Duchmen, and Savoyes, D.

⁶ Catolones, D.

⁷ bryngen of Irissh hides, B.; Wiche Bruges grete plenté casith of Irische hydes, D.

And I here saye that wee in Braban lye,
 Fflaunders and Seland, wee bye more marchaundy¹
 In comon use, then done alle other nacions;
 This have I herde of marchaundes relations.
 And yff the Englysshe be not in the martis,
 They bene febelle, and as noughte bene here² partes;
 Ffor they bye more, and fro purse³ put owte,
 More⁴ marchaundy than alle othere rowte.
 Kepte than the see,⁵ shyppes schulde not linge ne
 feche,
 And than the careys wolde not theder steeche,
 And so the martis wolde full evel thee,
 Yf wee manly kepte aboute the see.

*Of the commoditees of Braban and Selande and
 Henaulde, and marchaundyces carryed by londe
 to the martis The viij. chapitre.*

Yit⁶ marchaundy of Braban and Selande,⁷
 The⁸ madre and woode⁹ that dyers take on hande
 To dyne¹⁰ wyth, garleke and onyons,
 And salt fysshe als for husbond and comons;
 But they of Holonde¹¹ at Caleyse byene oure felles,
 And oure wolles, that Englyshe men hem solles.
 And the chefare that Englysshe men do byene
 In the martis, that noman may denyene,

▪ Madeire, woade, garleke, onyons, salt fysshe

¹ *And I here say that we in Braban
 lye*

*More plente of their marchaun-
 dy, B., D.*

*And I here say that we in Bra-
 bant lye,*

*Flanders and Zeland, more of
 marchiundy, Hakl.*

² *in their, D.*

³ *fre pens, D*

⁴ *For, B*

⁵ *And the see were kept that, B.;
 Kepte than, D.*

⁶ *The, B.*

⁷ *Zelonde, D.*

⁸ *Bethe, B; By, D.*

⁹ *wad, B.*

¹⁰ *dyen, D*

¹¹ *Selond, B*

Is not made in Braban that cuntré,
 It commeth frome oute of Henaulde, not be the see,
 But alle by londe by carris,¹ and fiome Fraunce,
 Burgoyne, Coleyne, Camerete,² in substaunce
 Therfore at martis yf there be a restreynte,
 Men seyne pleynly, that liste no fables peynte,³
 Yf Englysshe men be wythdrawene away,
 Is grete rebuke and losse to here affraye,⁴
 As⁵ though wee sent into the londe of Fraunce
 Tenne thousande peple, men of gode puissaunce,⁶
 To werre unto her hynderynge multiphary;⁷
 So bene oure Englysshe marchauntes necessary.
 w Yf it be thus assay, and we⁸ schall weten
 Of men experte, by whome I have this wylene.
 Ffor seyde is that this carted⁹ marchaundye
 Drawethe in valew as moche verralye ■
 As alle the gode that commethe in shippes thedyre,
 Whyche Englysshe men bye moste and bring it hedire.
 Ffor here martis bene feble, shame to saye,
 But Englysshe men thedire dresse here waye.

Conclusion of this deppendinge of kepinge of the see.

Than I conclude, yff nevere so moche by londe¹¹
 Werre by carres brought unto there honde,
 Yff welle the see were kepte in governaunce,
 They shulde by see have no delyveraunce,

¹¹ Nota, what oure marchaundes bye in that costis ■ than all other, etc^a.

¹ carted, B.; in carres, D.	⁶ ten thousand ■ of puissaunce,
² Camerete, Colayn, B.; Camerik,	B.
D,	⁷ multiplie, B.
³ fayn, D.	⁸ ye, B.
⁴ and losse, and affray, B.; losse	⁹ when thus carted, B.
to their astraye, D.	¹⁰ as moche to take vkerly, B.
⁵ Alle, D.	¹¹ Yf men so moche be of lond, B.

Wee shulde hem stoppe, and wee shulde hem destroy,
 As prysoners wee shulde hem brynge to noy;
 And so wee shulde of oure cruelle enmysse
 * Make oure ffreendes for fere of marchaundyssse,
 Yff they¹ were not suffred for to passe
 Into Fflaundes; but wee be frayle as glasse,²
 And also brettylle,³ not thought,⁴ nevero abydyng,
 But when grace shynetho sone are wee slydyng.
 Wee woll it not reseyve in any wysse;
 That maken luste, envye, and covetyssse.
 Expounne me this, and ye shall sothe it fynde,
 Bere it aweye, and kepe it in youre mynde.

Thenayle of thys conclusioun.

Than shulde worshyp unto oure noble be,
 In feet and forme to lorde and magesté;⁵
 y Liche as the seale the grettest of thys londe
 On the one syde hatho, as I understonde,
 A prince rydyng wyth his swerde idraue,
 In the othere syde sittynge, sothe it is in sawe,⁶
 * Betokenynge goode reule and ponesshynge
 In verry dede⁷ of Englande by the kynge.
 And hit is so, God blessyd mote he bee;
 So one lych wysse I wolde were on the see.
 By the noble that swerde schulde have powere,
 And the shippes one the see aboute us here.

* Nota, of oure defautes lettyng oure gode spede in polyoye.

y Nota, of the kynges grete seale.

* By septer and swerde.

¹ we, D.

² but we fre as glasse, B.; we be
 frely, as I gesse, D.

³ And as brasile, B.; And also at
 Brushill, D.

⁴ tough, B.

⁵ Rather than to the duke and his
 mayne, D.

⁶ sothe is this saw, B., D.

⁷ sede, B.

What nedeth a garlande, whyche is made of ivye,¹
 Shew a tavern wynelesse,² also thryve I;
 Yf men were wysely,³ the Frenshmen and⁴ Flemmynge
 Shulde bere no state in see by werrynge.

Of Hankyne Lyons.⁵

"Thane Hankyne Lyons shulde not be so bolde⁶
 To stoppe wyne, and shippes⁷ for to holde,
 Unto our shame; he hadde be betene thens.
 Allas! allas! why dede wee these⁸ offence,
 Ffully⁹ to shende the olde Englisshe fames,¹⁰
 And the profites of Englonde, and there names?
 Why is thys powere called of covetise¹¹
 Wyth ffals colours caste beforne oure eyes?
 That if goode men ben called werryours
 Wolde take the see for the comon socours,
 And purge the see¹² unto oure grete avayle,
 And wyne hem gode, and have¹³ up the sayle,
 And one oure enmyes there lives to juparte,¹⁴
 So that they myght there pryces well departe,
 As reason wolde, justice, and equité,
 To make this lande have lordeshyp of the see.

⁵ This tyme anno regis H. VI. xiiij^o was Hankyne Lyons arche-
 here one the see, and afore Pety Pynson. Allas, allas!

¹ ive, B.

² Shevardours wyneles now also; D.

³ willy, B.; while, D.

⁴ duke and the, D.

⁵ Of Hankyn Lyons, a rover on
 the see, B.; Of Hankyn Lyons, D.

⁶ shold not have ben so bold, B.

⁷ stoppe us, and our shippes, B.

⁸ whi do ye this, B.

⁹ Wilfully, B.; Ffoule, D.

¹⁰ shend our Englishe foomes, B.

¹¹ this powdre called covetise, B.

¹² The words for . . . see,
 omitted by the scribe of MS. A., are
 supplied from B. and D.

¹³ hale, B., D.

¹⁴ coarte, D.

A ffalse coloure in excusyng of prises.¹

^bThane shallo Lumbardes and othere feyned frendes
 Make her challenges by coloure false of fendes,
 And sey there chafare in the shippes is,
 And chalenge alle, loko yf this be amisse.
 Ffor thus may alle that men have brought to sorowe,²
 And ben excused and saved by falso coloure.

^cBe ware, ye men that bare³ the grete on honde,
 That they destroy the polycye of this londe,
 By gifte and goode, and the fynne golden clothes,
 And silke and othere, sey ye nat this sothe is?
 Bot if ye hadde verry experiance,
 That they take mede wythe pryvé violence,
 Carpettis, and thynges of price and of pleyssaunce,
 Whereby stopped shulde be⁴ gode governaunce.
 And if it were as ye seye unto me,
 Than wolde I soye, alas, cupidité!
 That they that have here lyves put in drede
 Schal be sone oute⁵ of wynnyng, al for mede,
 And lose here costes, and brought to poverté,
 That they shallo nevere have luste to go to see.

^b Lumbardis are cause moughe to hurte this lande, alletough
 there were none othere cause.

^c Alas! for bribes and gifte of goode festes and meanes that
 stoppen oure pollycye.

¹ This title is omitted in A., but
 supplied from B.

² *so sorowe*, B.

³ *that bere*, B.

⁴ *stoppid is*, B.

⁵ *Shalle be shoven out*, B., D.

Steryng to an ordinaunce agens coloure of maynteners and excusers.

^d Efor thys coloure that¹ muste be seyde alofte,
 And by declared of the grete fulle ofte,
 That oure seemen wolke by many wysse²
 Spoylle oure frendys in stede of oure enmyse;
 Efor whyche coloure and Lumbardes mayntenaunce,
 The kyng it nedeth to make an ordinaunce
 Wyth hys counselle, that may not fayle, I troue,
 That frendes shuld frome enmyes welke be knoue,
 Oure enmyes taken, and oure frendes spared;
 The remedy of hem muste be declared.
^e Thus may the see be kept in no selle;³
 Efor if ought be taken, wotte ye weel,
 Wee have the strokes, and enmyes have the wyunyng,
 But maynteners ar parteners of the synnyng.
 Wee lyfe⁴ in luste, and byde in covetyse,
 This is oure reule⁵ to mayntene marchauntysse,
 And polycye that we have on the see;
 And, but God helpe, it woll none other bee.

*Of the commoditees of Irelande, and polycye and
 keepyng thereof, and conqueryng of wylde Iryshe,
 wyth an incident of Walys. The i.e. chapitle.*

I wate to speke of Irelande but a lytelle,
 Commoditees⁶ yit I woll entitelle,

^d It is a merveye thyng that so grete ■ sakenesse and hurt of
 the londe may have no remedy of so many ■ letten hem selfe wyse-
 men of goveinanee, etc.^a

^e Et unde mors oritur inde vita resurgit.

¹ then, B.

² wold in any wise, B.

³ be kept every dele, B., D.

⁴ lyge, B., D.

⁵ tale, B., D.

⁶ The comoditee, B., D.

Hydes, and fish, samon, hake, herynge,
 Irish wollen, lynyn cloth, faldynge,
 And marternus¹ gode, bene here marchaundyse,
 Hertys² hydes, and other of venerye,
 Skynnes of otere, squerel, and Irysh are,³
 Of shepe, lambe, and fox, is here chaffare,
 Ffelles of kydde and conyes grete plenté.
 So that yf Ireland halpe us to kepe the see,
 Because the kynge clepid⁴ is *rex Angliae*,
 And is *dominus* also *Hibernia*,
 Old possessyd⁵ by progenitours,
 The Yriche men have cause lyke to oures
 Oure londe and herres togedre defende,
 That none enmye shulde hurte ne offende⁶
 Yrelonde ne us, but as one comonté
 Shuldo helpe to kepe welle aboute the see.
 Ffor they have havenesse grete and godely⁷ bayes,
 Sure, wyde, and depe, of gode assayes,
 Att Waterforde and coostis monye one,
 And as men seyn in England, be there none
 Better havenesse shyppes in to ryde,
 Ne more sure for enmyes to abyde.
⁸ Why speke I thus so muche of Yrelonde?
 Ffor also muche as I can understonde
 It is fertile for thyng⁹ that there do growe
 And multiplyen, loke who so lust to knowe;
 So large, so gode, and so comodyouse,
 That to declare is straunge and merveylouse.
 Ffor of sylvere and golde there is the oore
 Amonge the wylde Yrishe, though they be pore;

¹ martornis, D.² Hert, D.³ Iryshe hare, B., D.⁴ cállid, D.⁵ O longe passed, D.⁶ nor shende, B., D.⁷ gardly, B., D.⁸ B. and D. insert here ■ new title or rubric, *An exhortacion to hepe sikerly Irland.*⁹ fructifulle of thynges, B.; riche for thynges, D.

Ffor they ar rude, and can thereone no skylle;
 So that if we had there pese and gode wylle,
 To myne and fyne, and metalle for to pure,
 In wylde Yrishe myght we fynde the cure.
 As in Londone seyth¹ a juellere,
 Whych brought from thens gold core² to us here,
 Whereof was fyned metalle gode and clene,
 As³ the touche, no bettere coude be sene.
 Nowe here be ware and hertly take entente,
 As ye wolte answeere at the laste jugemente,
 That for sloughe and for racheshede⁴
 Ye remembere, wyth alle youre myghte take hede
 To kepe Yrelond, that it be⁵ not loste;
 Ffor it is a boterasse and a poste
 Undre England, and Wales another.
 God forbede but eche were othere brothere,
 Of one ligenunce dewe unto the kyng.
 But I have pité, in gode feythe, of thys thyng,
 That I shalle saye, wythe avysemente,
 I han aferde that Yrelonde wol be⁶ shente;
 It muste away, it wolte be loste frome us,
 But if thow helpe, thow Jhesu graciouse,
 And yeve us grace alle sloughe to leve bysyde.⁷
 Ffor myche thyng in my harte is hyde,⁸
 Whyche in anothere tretyse I caste to wrytte,
 Made alle onelye for that soyle and sitee⁹
 Of fertile Yrelonde, whiche mythe not be forborne,
 But if Englonde were nyghe as gode as gone.¹⁰
 God forbede that a wylde Yrishe wrylyng
 Shulde be chosene for to be there kyng,

¹ *seid*, B.² *good ure*, B.³ *At*, B., D.⁴ *rechelessehede*, B.; *rechelehede*, D.⁵ *were*, B.⁶ *shalle be*, B.⁷ *sloughe to sette aside*, B.⁸ *I hide*, B.⁹ *cete*, D. These two lines are omitted in B.¹⁰ *lorn*, B.; *lorne*, D.

Aftere here conqueste for oure laste¹ puissaunce,
 And hyndere us by other londes allyaunce.
 Wyse mene seyne, whyche folyn not ne dotyn,²
 That wylde Yrishe so muche of grounde have gotyne
 There³ upon us, ■ lykelynesse may be,
 Lyke as England to sherish two or thre⁴ .
 Of thys oure londe is made comparable,
 So wylde Yrishe have wonne unto us unable⁵
 Yit⁶ to defende, and of no⁷ powere
 That oure grounde there is a lytelle cornere,⁸
 To alle Yrelonde in trewe comparisone.
 It nedeth no more this mater to expone,
 Which if it be loste, as Criste Jhesu forbede,
 Ffarowelle Wales, than Englund cometh to drede
 Ffor alliaunce of Scotelonde and of Spayne,
 And other moo, as the Pety⁹ Bretayne,
 And so have ennyes environ rounde aboute.
 I beseche God that some prayers devoute
 Mutt lett the seyde¹⁰ apparaunce probable¹¹
 Thys disposed¹² wythlought feyned fable;
 But alle onely for perelle that I see
 Thus ymynent as lykely for to be.¹³
 And wolle I wote that frome henc to Rome,
 And, as men sey, in alle Cristendome,
 Ys no grounde ne lond to Yreland lyche,
 So large, so gode, so plenteouse,¹⁴ so riche,
 That to this worde *dominus* dothe longe.
 Than me somyth that ryglit were, and not wronge,

¹ *losse*, D.² *whiche listen not to dote*, B.³ *That*, D.⁴ *In Englund unto shere two or thre*, B.⁵ *on us have wonne unable*, D⁶ *It*, B.; *Hit*, D.⁷ *defende with ■ power*, D.⁸ *cover*, D.⁹ *litelle*, B.¹⁰ *Might be seid*, B.¹¹ *provable*, D.¹² *Thus dispouned*, B.¹³ *Whiche is like in shor tyme to be*, B.; *Thus judgement likly*, D.¹⁴ *plenteuous*, B.; *plentyrous*, D.

To gete that lond, and it were piteouse¹
 To us to lese thys hyghe name *dominus*.
 And alle this² worde *dominus* of name
 Shulde have the grounde obeisaunte, wykle and tãme.
 That name and peple³ togedere myght accorde,
 Alle⁴ the grounde subjecte to the⁵ lorde;
 And that it is possible to be subjecte
 Unto the kynge, well shall it be detecte⁶
 In the lytelle boke that I of spake;
 I trowe reson alle this wolle undertake.⁷
 And I knowe welle with Irland⁸ howe it stant;
 Allas! fortune begynneth so to stant,⁹
 Or ellis grace, that dede is governaunce.
 Ffor so mynusshyth partyes of oure puissaunce¹⁰
 In that land, that we lesse¹¹ every yere
 More grounde and more, as welle¹² as yo may here.
 I herde a man¹³ speke to me fulle late,
 Whyche was a lorde of ful grete astate,¹⁴
 That expensis¹⁵ of one yere don in Fraunce
 Werred¹⁶ on men welle wyllid of puissaunce,
 Thys seyde grounde of Yrelonde to conquere,
 And yit because Englonde¹⁷ myght not forhere
 These seyde expensis gedred in one yere,
 But in iij. yere or iiij. gadred up here,

This lorde was the eile of Ormond, that told to this mater,
 that he wolde undretake it in payne of lesse of all his lyvelode,
 etc.; but this profere not by admitted; ergo male.

¹ pitevous, B.

² That of this, D.

³ And that same peple, B.

⁴ And, B.

⁵ her, B.; their, D.

⁶ And the hyng wold wele thertq
adverte, B.

⁷ These two lines are omitted in
B.

⁸ These two words are restored
from B. and D.

⁹ for to stante, B.

¹⁰ For moche lessethe dayly oure
puysaunce, B.

¹¹ that lesith, D.

¹² aske welle, B.

¹³ a lord, B.

¹⁴ Whiche eile of Ormond, a
lord and astate, B.

¹⁵ experience, D.

¹⁶ Wared, B.

¹⁷ And yf Englonde, B.

Myght wyne Yrelonde to a fynalle conquest
 In one soole yere,¹ to sett us alle in reste.
 And how sone woldo thys be paydo ageyne,
 What were it worthe yere, yf weo not feyne
 I wylle declare, who so luste to looke,
 I trowe ful pleyndly in my lytele boke.²
 But covetyse and singularite
 Of one³ profite, envyo, cruelté,⁴
 Hath done us harme, and doo us overy daye,
 And mustres⁵ made that shamo it is to saye,
 Oure money spento alle to lytelle avayle;
 And oure enmyes so gretely done prevayle,
 That what harme may falle and overthwarte,⁶
 I may unmeth wrytle more for soie of heite.⁷

An exhortacion to the keepynge of Walys.

Be ware of Walys, Criste⁸ Jhesu mult us⁹ kepe,
 That¹⁰ it make not oure childeis¹¹ childe to wepe,
 No us also, if it go his waye
 By unwarenesse;¹² seth that many a day
 Men have bo forde of here rebelloun
 By grote tokenes and ostentacioun.¹³
 Secho the monys wyth a discrete avyse,
 And helpe that they rudely not aryse
 Ffor to rebelle,¹⁴ that Criste it forbedo;
 Loke wole aboute, for, God wote, we have nede,

¹ In too hole, D.

² These two lines are omitted in B

³ owne, B.; comon, D.

⁴ envie and carnalite, B, carnalite, D.

⁵ monsturis, D

⁶ over whert, B; ever werte, D

⁷ for sorow = heit, B

⁸ it, B; hit, D.

⁹ childeis, B., D.

¹⁰ wondernesse, D.

¹¹ demonstracioun, B.; of ostentacioun, D

¹² to be rebelle, D

Unfayllyngly, unfeynyngly,¹ and unfeynte,
 That concience for slought you not alloynte
 Kope welles that groundes for harme that may bene
 used,
 On afore God mutt ye bene accused.

*Of the comodious stokfyshe of Yselonde, and keepynge
 of the see, namely the narrow see, wyth an in-
 cident of the keepynge of Calyse The tenth
 chapytre.*

Of Yseland to wryte is lyttille nedde,
 Save of stokfyshe; yit for sothe in dedde
 Out of Bristow, and costis many one,
 Men have practised by nedde and by stone
 Thider-wardes wythino a lytel whylle,
 Wythino xij. yere,² and wythoute perille,
 Gone and comen, as men were wonte of olde
 Of Scarboroughh unto the³ costes colde;
 And now so fole shippes thyn yere there were,
 That moche losse for unfraught⁴ they here;
 Yselond myght not make hem to be fraught
 Unto the hawys; this moche harme they caught.⁵
 Thene here I ende of the comodities
 For whiche nedde is well to kepe the sees;
 Este and weste, south and northe they be;
 And chesely kepe the sharpe⁶ narrow see,
 Betwene Dover and Caleise, and thus
 That forse passe⁷ not wythought gode wyll⁸ of us,
 And they⁹ abyde oure daunger in the loughle,
 What for oure costis and Caleise in oure¹⁰ stronghte.

¹ unfayllyngly, unfeynyngly, D.

² In yeres few, B.

³ that, B.

⁴ unfreyght, D.

⁵ This and the three preceding
 lines are omitted in B.

⁶ sharply the, B.

⁷ That our force passe, B.

⁸ us, B.

⁹ And yf they, B. D.

¹⁰ with us, B.

An exortacioun of the sure keepynge of Calise.

And for the love of God and of his blisse,
 Cherishe ye Calise better than it is;
 See welle therto, and here the grette comploynte
 That trowe men tellen, that wolde no lies peynle;
 And as ye knowe that writynge commyth from thens,
 Do not to England for sloughte so grette offens,
 But that redressed it be for any thyng,
 Lest that¹ a songe of sorow that wee synge
 For lytelle wenythe the fole, who so myght chese,²
 What harme it were gode Calise for to lese,
 What woo it were for alle this Englysshe grounde.
 Whiche welle conceyved the emperoure Sigismounde,
 That of all joyes made it one of the moste,
 That Calise was soget unto Englysshe coste.
 Hym thought it was a jewel moste of alle,
 And so the same in Latyn did it calle.
 And if ye wolde more of Calise here and knowe,
 I caste to writte wythine a litelle sorowe,³
 Like as I have done byforone by and bye
 In othir parties of oure pollicie.
 Loke welle how harde it was at the firste to gete,
 And by my counselle lyghtly let not it leete.
 For if wee leese it wyth shame of face
 Wylfully, it is⁴ for lake of grace.
 Howe was the Hareflewe⁵ cryed upon, and Rone,⁶
 That it were likely for slought to be gone,
 How was it warened and cryed on in Englonde,
 I make recorde wyth this penne in myne honde.
 It was warened pleynely in⁷ Normandye,
 And in England, and I thereone⁸ dyd crye.

¹ This word is inserted from B.

² *Lesse than a songe*, D.

³ *what myschefe*, D.

⁴ *throw*, B.

⁵ *for it is*, B.

⁵ *Harfleet*, B.; *Harflete*, D.

⁶ *at Roon*, B., D.

⁷ *also of Gascoigne and*, B.

⁸ *And alle England also thereon*, B.

The world was defrauded, it¹ betid ryght soo;
 Farewell Harflew²! lewdely it was agoo;³
 Now ware Calcise, I can soy no bettere,
 My soule discharge I by this presente lettere.

*Aftere the chapitle of commoditees of dyverse landes,
 shewyth the conolusioun of keepynge of the see
 environ by a storye of kynge Edgure, and ij.
 incidentes of kynge Edwards the ijth and kynge
 Henry the vth. The xi. chapitle.*

Now see wee welle than that this rownde see
 To oure noble by paryformyte,⁴
 Under the shypp, showyd there the sayle,
 And oure kynge of royalle apparaylle,
 Wyth swerde drawe, bryght and extente,
 Ffor to chastise enemyes vyolente,
 Shulde be lorde of the see aboute,
 To kepe enemyes fro wythine, wythoute,⁵
 To be holde thorough cristianyté
 Master and lorde environ of the see,
 Alle lyvinge⁶ men suche a⁷ prince to drede
 Of suche a rogne to be aforde in dede.
 Thus prove I welle that it was thus of olde,
 Whiche by a cronicle anon shal be tolde,

¹ Dicit chronica, quod iste Edgarus, cunctis predecessibus suis
 felicior, nulli sanotitate inferior, omnibus morum suavitate præ-
 stantior, etc., vixit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cyrus
 Persis, Karolus Francis, Romulus de Romanis.

¹ was deaf, and it, B., D.

² Harflete, D.

³ Farewell Guyen and Normandy,
 lewdly it is ago, B.

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⁴ parformyt, B. ; be perfourmere,
 D.

⁵ enemyes withyn and withoute, D.

⁶ luyngge, D.

⁷ such as a, D.

Ryghte curiouse, but I wolle interprete
 Hit into Englysshe, as I did it gete.
 Of kynged Edgare, oo¹ moste mervyllouse
 Prince lyvyng, wytty, and chevalrouse,
 So gode that none of his predecessours
 Was to him lyche in prudens and honours.
 He was fortunat, and more gracious
 Then other before, and more glorious.
 He was benethe no man² in holinesse,
 He passed alle in vertuouse swetenesse.
 Of Englysshe kynges was none so commendable
 To Englysshe men, ne lasse³ memoriablen
 Than Cyrus was to Perse by puissaunce;⁴
 And as grete Charlis was to them of Fraunce,
 And as to Romanis was grete Romulus,
 So was to England this worthy Edgare.
 I may not write more of his worthynesse,
 Ffor lake of tyme, ne of his holynesse;
 But to my matere I hym examplifie,
 Of condicions twayne and of his policie.
 Wythine his land was one, this is no doute,
 And another in the see wythoute,
 That in tyme of wynter⁵ and of werre,⁶
 Whan boistous wyndes put see-men into ferre,⁷
 Wythine his lande aboute bi alle provinces
 He passyd thorowghe perceyvyng his princes,
 Lordes, and othir of the comountee,⁸
 Who was oppressoure, and who to poverté
 Was drawe and broughte, and who was clene in⁹
 lyffe,
 Any who¹⁰ was by myschoffe and by stryffe

¹ one, B.² He a blessid man, D.³ nor non more, D.⁴ Like Cyrus that gate Percy by
puissaunce, B.⁵ of aventure, D.⁶ of veer, B.⁷ feer, B.⁸ comynallté, B.⁹ of, B.¹⁰ This word is inserted from B.
and D.

Wyth overledyngo and extorcioun;
 And gode and bad of eche condicioun
 He aspied, and his mynisters als,
 Who did trought, and whiche of hom was fals;
 How the ryght and lawes of his londe
 Were execute, and who durste take on honde
 To disobeye his statutes and decrees,
 Yf they were welle kepte in alle cuntrees.
 Of these he made subtile investigacioun¹
 By his owyne espye and other menis relacioun.
 Amonge othyr was his grete besines
 Welle to bene ware that grete men of ryccesse,
 And men of myght in citee ner in toun,
 Shuld to the pore doo none oppressioun.
 Thus was he wente, as in this wynter tyde,
 One suche enserchise busily to abyde;
 This was his laboure for the publique thinge,
 Thus was he² occupied, a passyng holy kyngo.

^h Now to the purpose; in the somer flayre,
 Of lusty season, whan clered was the eyre,
 He had redy shippes made byfore,
 Grete and luge, not fewe but manye a score,
 Ffulle thre³ thousande and sex hundred also,
 Statelye inowgh on oure see to goo.
 The cronicles seyth these shippes were full boistous;⁴
 Suche thinges longen to kynges victorious.

^h Dicit chronica, preparaverat naves robustissimas numero tria milia sexcentas, in quibus redeunte aestate omnem insulam, ad terrorem extraneorum et ad suorum exortationem, cum maximo apparatu circumnavigare conqueverat.

¹ enquiracioun, B.

² was is omitted in A.

³ ii. m, D.

⁴ costious, D.

In somere tide¹ woldo he have in wone,
 And in custome, to be fulle redy sone,²
 Wyth multitude of men of³ godo array,
 And instrumentis of werre of besto⁴ assay;
 Who coude hem welle in ony wyse describo,
 Hit were not lyght for ony man on lyve.
 Thus he and his wolde entre shippes grete,
 Habilementis havynge and the fete
 Of see werres, that joyfull was to see
 Suche a navoie, and lord of magesté
 There present in persone hem amonge,
 To saile and rowe environ alle on londe,⁵
 So regaliche aboute⁶ the Englisshe yle,
 To all straungeours terroure and perille;
 Whose sonne wente aboute⁷ in alle the worldo stoute,⁸
 Unto grete ferre of alle that be wythouto,
 And exercise to knyghtis and his meyné
 To hym longynge⁹ of his nattle¹⁰ contré.
 Ffor corage muste of nede have exercise,
 Thus¹¹ occupied for esshewynge of vice.
 This knowe the kyng, that policie espied,
 Wynter and somer he was thus occupied.
 This conclude I by auctorité
 Of cronique, that environn the see
 Shulde bene oures subies¹² unto the kyng,
 And he be lorde therof for ony thyng,
 Ffor grete worship, and for profite also,
 To defende his londe fro every foo.
 That worthy kyng I leve, Edgar by name,
 And alle the cronique of his worthy fame;

¹ time, B.² to be fortyfied sone, D.³ in, B.⁴ good, B.⁵ alonge, B., D., and Hakl.⁶ He ransaked aboute, D.⁷ out, D.⁸ aboute, B., D.⁹ landing, D.¹⁰ noble, D.¹¹ Younghe, B.¹² subjects to, B., D.; our subjects, Hackluyt.

Save onely this I may not passe away,
 A word of myghty strenght til that¹ I seye,
 That grauntyd hym God sucho worship here,
 Ffor his meritis, he was wythoute pere,
 That sumtyme at his grete festivité
 Kynges and yerles of many a contré,
 And provinces² sole, were there presente,
 And mony lordes come thodire by assente
 To his worship; but in a certayne daye
 He bade shippes be³ redy of arraye
 Ffor to visite Seynte Jonys chyrche he lyste,
 Rowynge unto the gode holy Baptiste.
 He assygned to yerles, lordes, knyghtes,
 Many shippes ryght godely to syghtes;
 And for hym selfe and viij. kynges mo
 Subdite⁴ to hym, he made kepe one of the,
 A gode shipp, and entred into it,
 Wyth viij. kynges, and dounes did they sit,
 And echo of them an ore toke in hande,
 At ore-holes viij,⁵ as I understonde;
 And he hym selfe alle the shipp bohynde
 As storis-man, it hym⁶ becam of kynde.
 Suche another rowynge, I dare welles saye,
 Was not sene of princes many a day.

¹ Dicit chronica, et ut non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita
 honorum operum mercedem donaverit, cum aliquando ad maximam
 ejus festivitatem reges, comites, multarumque provinciarum protec-
 tores, convenissent, quadam die naves jussit parari, gratum habens
 ecclesie beati Johannis Baptistae Tenete navigio petere; cum itaque
 comitibus et satrapis naves plurimas delegasset, ipso viij. re-
 gibus sibi subditis navem unam intravit, ad oculo itaque remos
 regibus totidem collocatis, ipso in puppe sedens gubernatoris fun-
 gebatur officio.

¹ *A worde of mythe and trouthe*
yit wolle, B. ; mythe and truth, D.

² *provinces, D.*

³ *He had shippes redy, B., D.*

⁴ *Subjecte, B.*

⁵ *This word is inserted from B.*

⁶ *This word also from B.*

Lo than how he on waters had¹ the price,
 In land, in see, that I may not suffice
 To telle, o right! o magnanimité!²
 That kynge Edgar had upon the see.

*An incident of the lorde of the see, kynge Edwarde
 the thredde.*

Of kynge Edwarde I passe, and his prowesse
 On londe, on see, ye³ knowe his worthynesse.
 The sieg of Calise, yo wott welle alle the mater,
 Rounde aboute by londe and by the water,
 How it lasted, not yeres many agoo,
 After the bataille of Crecy was idoo;
 How it was closed environ aboute,
 Olde men saue it whiche leyvn, this is no doute.
 Olde knyghtis say that the duke of Burgoyne,
 Late rebuked for all his golden coyne,
 Of shipp and see made no besegynge there,
 Ffor wante of shippes that durste not come for fere.
 It was no thyng beseged by the see,
 Thus calle they it no seage for honesté.
 Gonnes assayled, but assaute was there none,
 No sege, but fuge, welle was he that myght gone.
 This manere carpyng have knyghtes ferre in ago,
 Experte of olde this manere langage.⁴
 But kynge Edwarde made a sege royalle,
 And ~~mann~~ the toune, and in especialle
 The see was kepte, and thereof he was lorde,
 Thus made he nobles coigned of recorde.

¹ This word from B., D.

² *To telle the righte highe magnanimité*, B.

³ I, B.

⁴ This and the nine previous lines, alluding to the siege of Calais by the duke of Burgundy, in 1436, are not found in B.

In whose tyme was no navye in the see
 That myght wylhstande of hys magesté.¹
 Bataylle of Sluce yo may rede every day,
 How it was done, I love and go my way ;
 If it was so late done that yo it knowe,
 In comparisone wythine a lytel throwe.
 If for whiche to God yeve we honoure and gloiye,
 If for lorde of see the kyng was wyth victorie.

*Another incident of keepinge of the see, in the tyme
 of the merveillouse werroure and victorious prince,
 kyng Henry the vth, and of his grete shippes.*

And yf I shulde conclude al by the kyng,
 Henry the fift, what was hys purposyng, -
 Whan at Hampton he made the grete dromons,
 Which passed other grete shippes of alle the comons,
 The Trinite, the Grace-Dieu, the Holy-Ghost,
 And other moo which as now be loste,
 What hope ye was the kynges grete entente
 Of the shippes, and what in mynde he mente?
 It was not ellis but that he cante to be
 Lorde rounde aboute environ of the see.
 And whan Harflew² had his soge aboute,³
 There came carikkys⁴ ouirible, grete, and stoute,
 In the narowe see wyllyng to abyde
 To stoppe us there wyth multitude of pride.
 My lorde of Bedeforde⁵ came one, and had the cure ;
 Destroyde they were by that discomfiture.⁶
 This was after the kyng Harflew⁷ had wonne,
 Whane our ennyes to besoge had begonne,

¹ That could withstande the myght
 of his magesté, D.

² Harflete, B.

³ had his sword bought, D.

⁴ a bataille, B.

⁵ The duke of Bedford, B.

⁶ sconfiture, B.

⁷ Harflete, B.

That alle was slayne or lako, by treue relacioun,
 To his worship and of his Engliſſhe nacioun.
 Ther was presente the kynges chamberleyn
 At bothe batayles, whiche knowethe this in certayne;
 He can it telle other wyse than I;
 Aske hym, and wite; I passe forthe hastoloye.¹
 What had this kyng of his² magnificens,
 Of grote corage, of wysdome and prudence,
 Provision, forowitte, audacite,
 Of fortitudo, justice, agilité,³
 Discrecioun, subtile avisifenesse,⁴
 Atemperaunce, noblesse,⁵ and worthynesse,
 Science, proesce,⁶ devocion, equityté,
 Of moſte estate his magnanimité,
 Liche to Edgare and the ſoyde Edwardo,
 A braunche of bothe, lyche hem as in regarde
 Where was on lyve a man⁷ more victorioso,
 And in ſo ſhorte tyme prince ſo marvelouſe?
 By lande and ſee ■ welle he hym acquite,
 To ſpeke of hym I ſtony in my witte.
 Thus here I leve the⁸ kyng wyth his nobelnesse,
 Henry the fift, wyth whome alle my processe
 Of this trewe boko of pure⁹ pollicie,
 Of ſee kepyng, entyndyng¹⁰ victorie,
 I leve endely, for aboute in the ſee
 No better was prince of ſtienuité.¹¹

¹ Nota de conditionibus quibusdam regis Henrici quinti, de-
 centibus magnanimitatem omnis magni principis, belligeri, con-
 quistoris.

¹ This and the three preceding
 lines are omitted in B.

■ *he*, B.; *suche*, D.

■ *Of fortitudo, justice Anglice*, D

■ *avisifines*, B.; *avisement*, D.

■ *nobilité*, D.

■ *processe*, B

■ *only lives man*, B

■ *this*, B.

■ *trew*, D.

¹⁰ *endyng*, B.

¹¹ *extremyte*, B.

And if he had to this tyme lyved here,
 * He had bene prince named wythoutene pere.
 His grete shippes shulde have bene put in proffo,
 † Unto the ende that he mente of in cheffe
 ‡ For doute it nat, but that he wolde have be
 Lorde and master aboute the rounde see,
 And kepte it sure, to stoppe oure enmyes hens,
 And wonne us gode, and wysoly brought it thens,
 That no passage shulde be wythought daungere
 And his licence on see to meve and steer.

*Of unité, shewynge of our kepynge of the see, wyth
 one endely processe of peuse by autorité. The
 vij. chapitule.*

¶ Now than for love of Cryste and of his joye,
 Brynge yit Englande out of trouble and noye,
 Take herte and witte, and set ■ governaunce,
 Set many wittes wythoutene variaunce
 To one accord and unanimité,
 Put to gode wyll¹ for to kepe the see.
 Ffurste for worshypp and profite also,
 And to rebuke of echo evyl wyllid foo;
 Thus shalle richesse and worship to us longe;
 Than to the noble shalle wee do no wronge,
 To bere that coigne in figure and in dede,
 To oure corage and oure enmyes to dede.

* Nota, prince perelesse.

† Grace-Dieu, Holy-Gost, etc.

‡ Exhortatio generalis in custodiam totius Angliæ per diligentiam custodiæ onculus maris circa litoram ejusdem, quæ debet esse per unanimatem consiliorum regis et hominum bonæ voluntatis.

ⁿ Ffor whiche they muste dresse hem to pease in haste,
 Or ellis there thurte to standen and to ¹ waste,
 As this processe hathe proved by and bye,
 Allé by reason and experte policie,
 And by stories whiche proved welle this parte;
 And elles I wolde my lyffe put in joparte,
 But many landes wolde seeche here pease for nede,
 The see welle kepte, it muste be do for drede.
 Thus muste Flaundres for nede have unité
 And pease wyth us, it wolde none other beo,
 Wythine shorte while, and ambassiatours
 Wolde bene here sone to tete for ther secours.
 This unité is to God plesaunce ²
 And pease after the veries variaunce;
^o The ende of bataile is pease sikerlye,
 And power causeth pease finally. ³
^p Kepte ⁴ than the see about in specialle,
 Whiche of England is the rounde walle;
 As though England were lykened to a cite,
 And the walle environ were the see.
 Kepe than the see, that is the walle of Englonde,
 And than is Englonde kepte by Goddes honde;
 That is, for any thinge that is wythoute,
 Englonde were at ease wythoutene doute.
 And thus shulde everi lande one with another
 Entrecomon ⁵ as brother wyth his brother,

ⁿ Ties sunt ██████ predictæ custodie, scilicet honor, et commodum regni, et opprobrium inimicis.

^o Finis belli est pax.

^p De circuitu maris, quod est quasi murus et vicina regni Angliæ.

¹ shall gone to, B.

² to Goddes p., B.

³ And poverti. causethe pease fy-
 nalle verily, B.

⁴ kepe, B., D.

⁵ Entrecome never, B.

And life togedre worreles¹ in unité,
 Wythoute rancoure, in vorry charité,
 In reste and pease, to Cristis grote plesaunce,
 Wythoute striffe, debate, and variaunce.
 Whiche pease men shulde ensorche² with besynesse,
 And knytt it sadely holdyng in holynesse.
 The apostil soyth, if ye liste to see,
 "Be ye busy for to kepe unité
 "Of the spirite in the bonde of pease,"
 Which is nedofulle to alle, wythouten lesse.
 The profete bidoth us pease fore to enquire,
 "To pursue it, this is holy desire."³
 Oure Lorde Jhesu seith, "Blessed mot they be
 "That maken pease, that is tranquillité."
 "Efor pease makers," as Mathew writeth aryght,
 "Shall be called the sonnes of God allemight."
 God yeve us grace the weyes for to kepe
 Of his preceptis, and slugly not to slepe
 In shame of synne, that oure verry foe
 Mow be to us convers and torned too.
 Efor in⁴ Proverbis a text is to purpose,
 Ployne inowgh, wythoute ony glose,
 "Whan mennes weyes please unto oure Lorde,
 "It shalle converten and brynge to accorde
 "Mannes enemyes unto pease verray,
 "In unité, to life⁴ to Goddis pay."
 Which unité, pease, reste, and charité,
 Ilo that was here claude⁵ in humanité,

¹ Ad Eph. 4: "Solliciti sitis servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo
 "pacis."

² In primo: "Inquire pacem et persequere eam."

³ Mathews 5th: "Beati pacifici, quoniam ■■■ Dei vocabuntur."

⁴ Proverbis: "Cum placuerint Domino vias hominis, inimicos ejus
 "convertet ad pacem."

¹ without worre, B.

² inforse, B.; oncesse, D.

³ And after it to pursue, with
 hart clere, B.

⁴ lyke, B.; love, D.

⁵ cladde, Harkl.

That came from hevyn, and stode up with our
 nature,
 " Or he ascendid he yafe to ■ cure,
 And lefte wyth us pease ageyne staiffe and debate,
 Mote gefe us pease so wello iradicate¹
 Here in this woulde, that after alle this² foste
 Wee mowe have pease in the londe of byheste,
 " Jerusalem, which of pease is the sight,
 Wyth his bryghtnes of etornalle lighte.
 There glorified in 1este wyth his tuicione,
 The deite to see wyth fulle fruicione,
 He secunde persone in divinis is,³
 He us assume,⁴ and brynge us to the blisse. Amen.

*Here endithe the trewe processe of the libelle⁵ of
 Englysshe policie, exhortynge alle Englande to kepe
 the see enviroon, and namely the narrow see;
 shewynge whate worshippe, profite, and salvacioun
 commethe thereof to the reigne of Englonde, etc.*

Go furthe, libelle,⁶ and mekely showe thy face,
 Apperynge overe wyth humble contynaunce;
 And pray my lordes the to take in grace
 In opposaile,⁷ and cherisshynge the⁸ avaunce
 To hardynesse, if that not variaunce
 Thow haste fro troughte⁹ by full experience,
 Auctours and reasone, yif ought faile¹⁰ in substaunce,
 Remitte to heme that yafe the this science.

¹ " Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis."

² " Urbs beata, Jerusalem, dicta pacis visio, etc."

³ irradiate, B.

⁴ after at his, B.

⁵ in divynesse, B.; divynnesse, Hae.

⁶ asynge, B.

⁷ bible, D.

⁸ lytle bylle, B., C.

⁹ apposell, C. | especualle, D.

¹⁰ scherische the and u., C.

¹¹ hast saye thouwt trowthe, B., C.

¹² fulle, B., C.

¹ That sythe it is sothe, in verray feythe,
 That the wyse lorde baron of Hungerforde
 Hath the oversene, and verrily he seithe
 That thow arte trewe, and thus he dothe recorde,
 Nexte the gospell; God wotte, it was his worde,
 Whanne he the redde alle over in a nyghte.
 Go fortho, trewe booke, and Criste defende thi
 ryghte.

Explicit libellus de policia conservativa maris.

LAMENT OF THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.²

Thorowowt a pales as I can passe,
 I hard a lady make grot mono,
 And over she syked and sayd, " Alas!
 " Alle wordly joy ys from me gone;
 " And alle my fiendes from me can flo;
 " Alas! I am fullo woo begon;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.
 " Alle women that in this world be wrowght,
 " By me they may insumpullo take,
 " As I that was browght up of nowght,
 " A prince had chosyn me to his make;

¹ Instead of the lines which follow, B. has in conclusion:

To the gret prelate, the heyghest so
 confessor,

The gret mayster of the gretest
 house,

Cheff' treasure of the gret socoure,
 Besshop, herle, and baroun plen-
 tivous,

Of highe wytted lordes the famous,
 To examene thy doubled randytee,

I offer the tham to be gracious,
 To myn excuse, fforwelle, my own
 trolle.

MSS. C. and D. conclude in the same words.

² The duchess of Gloucester performed her penance on the 18th of November 1441. The poem here printed is preserved in a MS. of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford, No. 354, fol. 169, v^o, written by a citizen of London named Richard IIII, but the poem itself appears to have been composed at the time of the event to which it refers.

" My sofferen lorde so to forsake,
 " Yt was a dulfulle destenyc.
 " Alas! for to sorow how shuld I slake;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" I was so high upon my whele,
 " Myne owne estate I cowlde not know,
 " Therfor the gospelle seythe fulle welle,
 " Who wille be high, he shalle be low.
 " The whele of fortune, who may it trow,
 " Alle ys but weyn and vanyte;
 " My flowris off joy be alle down blow;
 " Alle women may be ware by me

" In worldly joy and worthynes
 " I was besette on every side;
 " Of Glowcestere I was duchess,
 " Amonge alle women magnifyed.
 " As Lucyfer felle down for pryde,
 " I felle ffrom alle felycyte;
 " I hade no grace my self to gyde;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" Alas! what was myne adventure,
 " So sodenly down for to falle,
 " That hade alle London at my cure,
 " To crok and knele, whan I wold calle?
 " Now, fader of hevyn celestyalle,
 " Of my complaynt have pyte.
 " Now am I made sympulest of alle;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" Before the counselle of this londe,
 " At Westmynster, upon a day,
 " Ffulle rewfully ther dide I stonde;
 " A worde for me durst no man say.

" Owre soverayn lorde withowt delay
 " Was there he myght both here and see
 " And to his grace he toke me ay.
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" Hys grace to me was evermore gayne,
 " Thowgh I had done so gret offence;
 " The lawe wolde I hade bene slayn,
 " And sum men dyde there delygence.
 " That worthy prynce of high prudence
 " Of my sorow hade gret petye.
 " Honour to hym, with reverence!
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" I come before the spiritualité;
 " Two cardynals, and byshoppis fyve,
 " And oder men of gret degré,
 " Examened me of alle my lyffe.
 " And openly I dyde me shryffe
 " Of alle thyng that they asked me.
 " Than was I putt in penaunce belyffe;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" Thorow London in many a strete,
 " Of them that were most pryncypalle,
 " I went bare fote on my fette,
 " That sum tyme was wonte to ride rialle.
 " Fader of hevyn and lorde of alle,
 " As thou wilt, so must yt be.
 " The syne of pryde wille have a falle;
 " Alle women may be ware by me.

" Farewelle, London, and have good-day;
 " At the I take my love this tyde;
 " Farewelle, Grenwyche, for ever and ay;
 " Farewelle, fayn places on Tommys syde;

"Ffarewelle, alle welth and the world so wide.
 "I am asigned where I shalle be;
 "Under mens' kepyng I must abide.
 "Alle women may be ware by me.

"Ffarewelle, damask and clothes of gold;
 "Ffarewelle, velvet, and clothes in grayn;
 "Ffarewelle, robes in many a folde;
 "Ffarewelle, I se you never agayn.
 "Ffarewelle, my lorde and sufferayn;
 "Ffarewelle, that may no bettere be;
 "Owr partyng ys grownd of felyng payn.
 "Alle women may be ware by me.

"Ffarewelle, my mynstrels, and alle your songe,
 "That ofte hath made me for to daunce.
 "Ffarewelle; I wott I have done wronge;
 "And I wyte my mys-governaunce.
 "Now I lysto nother to pryke nor prauunce;
 "My pryde ys put to poverté.
 "Thus, both in Englund and in Fraunce,
 "Alle women may be ware by me.

"Ffarewelle, alle joy and lustynesse;
 "Alle worldly myrth I may forsake.
 "I am so fulle of hevynesse,
 "I wotte not to whom my mone to make.
 "Unto hym I wille me take.
 "That for me dyed upon a tre.
 "In prayer I wille both walke and wake;
 "Alle women may be ware by me."

*Here endith the lamyntacion of the datches of
 Gloucestre.*

ON THE PROSPECT OF PEACE.¹

Mercy and Trouthe mette on an hih mounteyn,
 Briht as the sonne with his becmys cleer,
 Pees and Justicia walkyng on the pleyn,
 And with foure sustryn, moost goddly of ther cheer,
 List nat departe nor severe in no maneer,
 Of oon accoord by vertuous encrees
 Joyned in charité, pryncesses moost enteer,
 Mercy and Trouthe, Rihtwysnesse and Pees.

Misericordia, ground and original
 Of this processe, *Pax* is conclusioun;
 Rihtwysnesse of vertues pryncipal,
 The sword to modefy of execution,
 With a sceptre of discrecioun;
 Then sustir *Equitas* wil put hir sif in prees,
 Which with hir noble mediacioun
 Sette alle vertues in quiete and in pees.

In this woord *Pax* ther be lettrys thre;
 P set toforn for polityk prudence;
 A for augmentum and moore auctorité;
 X for Xpus, moost digne of reverence,
 Which on a cros by mortal violence
 With blood and watir wrot by a relees
 Of our trespacys, and for ful confidence
 With hym to regne in his eternal pees.

¹ This poem, by the well-known
 monk of Bury, John Lydgate, ap-
 pears to have been composed during
 the negotiations for peace between

England and France in the latter
 part of the year 1443. It is printed
 from a nearly contemporary copy in
 MS. Harl. No. 2255, fol. 21, r^o.

In inward pees ther is eek of the herte
 Which callid is a pees of conscience;
 A pees set outward, which that doth averte
 To worldly tresours with to gret dilligence;
 Glad pees in povert, groundid on pacience,
 Professyd to which was Diogenes,
 Which gruchyd nevyr for noon indigence,
 Such as God sent, content in worre and pees.

Ther is also a pees contemplatif,
 Of parfyt men in ther professioun;
 As some that leede a solitary lif,
 In fastyng, prayng, and devout orisoun;
 Visite the poore, and of compassioun,
 Nakyd and needy, and hungry socourloos,
 And poore in spirit, which shal have ther guerdoun,
 With Crist to regne in his eternal pees.

Pees is a princess, doubtir to Charité,
 Kepyng in reste cités and roial towns,
 Folk that be froward, set in tranquillité,
 Monarchies and famous regiouns;
 Pees presorvyth them from divisiouns;
 As with the philisophre callid Socrates,
 Among alle vertues makith a discripcioun,
 He moost comendith this vorth callid pees.

Pees is a vertu pacient and trefable;
 Set in quyet disoord of neihbores,
 Froward cheerys, pees makith amiable;
 Of thorny roseers pees gadrithe out the thornes,
 Makith the sward to ruste in sheathes,
 Provided by peety nat slouh, nor rokles,
 And mediacioun of wise abasitours,
 The spere maad blont, brouht in, love and pees.

And who that list plente of pees*possede,
 Live in quyete fro schlaundre and diffamo,
 Our Lord Jhesus he muste love and drede,
 Which shal preserve hym fro worldly trouble and
 shame.

This woord Jhesus in Nazareth took his name,
 Brouht by an angil, which put hym silf in pees,
 Whan Gabriel cam, the gospeleer seith the same,
 Brouht gladdest tydynges that evir was of pees.

And in rejoisshyng of this glad tydyng,
 Angelis song devoutly in the ayr
Gloria in excelsis, at comyng of this kyng;
 And thre kynges havyng ther repayr,
 With a sterre that shoon so briht and fayr,
 Brouht hem to Bedleem, a place that they cheos,
 Of ther viage brouht out of despayr,
 Where poorly loggyd they fond the kyng of pees.

Briht was the sterre ovir the dongoun moost,
 Wher the hevohly queen lay poorly in jesyno,
 With the seven douhtren of the Hooly Goost
 On hire awaytyng, moodir and virgine;
 Tofore whos face lowly they did enclyne,
 Song *Ave Maria* pastores doutlees,
 Thyng done to ground, bowyd bak and chyne,
 And of ther song the refreit was of pees.

Of the seven douhtren of the Hooly Goost,
Caritas in love buente briht leve,ne,
 And for bicause that she lovyd moost,
 Hir contemplacioun radht up to the heven;
 The next sustynynge, as I can nevene,
 Was Patience, which put hir silf in pees,
 And moost was besy of alle the sustynynge,
 Folk discord to settyn hem in pees.

Gaudium in spiritu to rejoisshe every wrong,
 Ffor Cristes comyng, among hir sustrys alle,
 With a glad spirit this ■ hir newe song,
Gaudete in Domino, born in an oxis stalle;
 A new myracle in Bodleem is now falle,
 Kyng Davidis heir, mong prophetis perlees,
 Shal at Jerusalem, in that royal halle,
 As lord of lordys, callyd sovereyn lord of pees.

In thes seven sustryn was no divisioun;
 Cheef of ther consayl was *Humilitas*;
 Content with lilel was Discrecioun;
 Moost meke of allo was *Leta-paupertas*;
 Alle of accord, cause that *Benignitas*
 Set governaunce that noon was rekless.
 Of cardinal vertues *Perfecta-societas*,
 What evir they wrouhte, concludid upon pees.

Thes sustryn alle, pacient and posible,
 Lyk ther princeesse moost fayr, moost graciou, ■
 Callyd Maria, as ferre as was posible,
 Ifulfilled with vertues she was moos plentovous,
 Queen of hevene, lay in ■ symple hous,
 A poore stable, mong beestys rowleless,
 An oxe, an asse, no courseers costious,
 In a streight rakke lay ther the kyng of pees.

At Cristes birthe, as I rehearse can,
 This pees cam in, almoost at mork mydnyht,
 Tymo of thempyro of Octovian,
 Whan Cibile cast hir look upriht
 Toward the Orient, and sauh an auctor briht,
 Callyd *ara coli*, of beute pearles;
 Theron an emperesse moost fayr of face and siht,
 A child in hir armys callyd cheef lord of pees.

The pees of grace long while did endure,
 Tyme that iij. kynges wer conveyd with the sterre,
 Tyl Herodes of froward aventure
 Geyn Jhosus by malys gan a werre,
 Sent his knyhtes both nyh and ferro,
 Slouh innocentys of malys gitlees,
 In Bedleem boundys this tyraunt list erre
 Ageyn the prynce callyd soverayn lord of pees.

This Herodis tiraunt ful of pryde,
 In his malys surquedous and cruel,
 Thoruh alle the citees that stood there besyde
 Slouh alle the childre, geyn Crist he was so fel
 Of compassioun moost pitously Rachel
 Wepte, whan she sauh the knyhtes mercilees
 Slouh so hir childre born in Israhel,
 Ffor his sake, sovereyn lord of pees.

Ther be figures dolorous of pitó,
 Of fals tyrauntes vengable to do wraak;
 Caym slouh Abel for his grent equitó;
 Attwon Ismael was stryff and Isaak;
 Esaw wolde have founde a laak,
 Cause that Jacob was put out of pees;
 By Rebecca a while set abaak,
 Atwen the brethre tyl ther wer maad a peck.

The Apocalips remembryd of seyn Johan,
 In his avisiouns the ewangelist took heede,
 With a sharp swerd he sauh ridyng oon,
 Ffers and proudly, upon a poleyn steede,
 Of colour reed, his journé for to speede,
 By his array vengable and rekless;
 Whos power was both in lengthe and breede,
 To make werre, and distroye pees.

His sword wex bloody in the mortal warre
 Attween Grekys and them of Troye toun,
 Gan spreede abroad bothe nyh and ferre,
 Thebes aforn brouht to destruccioun;
 Kyng Alisaundre put Darye down
 In Perce and Meede, the crowne whan he chees;
 Vowes of the Pecok the Ffrenssh makith menciou,
 Pryde of the werrys, moost contrary unto pees.

Othir werrys that wero of latter age,
 Afftir Jerusalem and gret Babiloon,
 Werrys attween Roomo and Cartago,
 Of thre Scipiouns, moost sovereyn of renoun;
 Rekno Hanybal, the proude champioun,
 Brak Rome wallys, furious and roklees,
 At the laste, stranglyd with poisoun,
 Of marcial he koude lyve novir in pees.

At werrys dreedful vertuous pees is good;
 Striff is hatful, pees douhtir of plesaunce.
 In Charllys tyme ther was shad gret blood;
 God sende ■ pees twen Ynglond and Ffraunce!
 Werre causith povert, pees causith habundaunce,
 And attween bothen, for ther moor enerees,
 Withoute feynyng, fraude, or varyaunce,
 Twen al cristene Crist Jhesu send us pees.

The ffifte Herry, preevyd a good knyht
 By his prowessse and noble chivalrye,
 Sparyd nat to pursuo his riht,
 His title of Ffraunce and of Normandy,
 Deyed in his conquest, and we shal alle dye.
 God graunt ■ alle, now aftir his discees,
 To sende us grace, attween ech partye,
 By love and charyté to live in parfyt pees.

Criste cam with pees at his nativité,
 Pees songe of angelis for gladnesse in Bedleem;
 And of his mercy to make ■ alle fro,
 He suffryd deth at Jerusaleem.
 The day wex dirk, the sonne lost his been;
 The theef to paradyse by mercy gan in pees;
 Gladdest kalendis to every cristen reem,
 Ffor us to come to evirlastyng pees.

Explicit quod Lydgate.

ON THE TRUCE OF 1444.¹

Sum man goth stillo of wysdam and resour
 Afor provided can kepe weel scilence;
 Fful offte it noyeth, be recoord of Catoun,
 Large language concludyng off no sentence;
 Speche is but fooly and sugryd elloquence
 Modlyd with language wheor men have noght to don;
 An old proverbe groundid on sapience,
 Alle goo wo stille, the cok hath lowe schoon.

To thynke mochyl, and seyn but smal,
 Yiff thou art feerffulle to ottre thy language,
 It is no wisdam a man to seyn out al;
 Sum bird can syng merily in his cage.
 The stare wyl chatre and speke of long usage,
 Though in his speche ther be no greet resoun;
 Kepe ay thy tounge fro surfeet and outrage;
 Alle go wo stille, the cok hath lowe schoon.

¹ This poem, also by Lydgate, appears to have been occasioned by the truce concluded by the earl of Suffolk in 1444, and the treaty of marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou. It is printed, like the preceding, from MS. Harl. No. 2256, fol. 131, v^o.

Unavised speke no thyng toforn,
 Nor of thy tounge be nat rekkeles,
 Uttre novir no darnel with good corn,
 Begyn no trouble whan men trete of pees;
 Scilence is good, and in every pces,
 Which of debate yevith noon occasyoun;
 Pacience preysed of prudent Sociatees;
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Comoun astrologeer, ■ folk expert weel knowe,
 To kepe the howrys and tydis of the nyght,
 Sumtyme hih and sumtyme he syngith lowe;
 Dam Portelot sit with hire brood douu right;
 The fox comyth neer withoute candollyght
 To trete of pees, meynyng no tresoun,
 To avoyde as gile and ffraude he hath behight,
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Undir fals pees ther may be covert ffraude;
 Good cheer outward, with face of innocence;
 Ffeyned flattery, with language of greet laude;
 But what is wers than shynyng apparence,
 Whan it is provyd fals in existence?
 Al is dul shadwe whan Phebus is down goon,
 Borkyng behynde, ffawnyng in presence;
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The royalle ogle, with his ffetherys duuno,
 Of nature so hih takith his flyght,
 No bakke of kynde may looke ageyn the sunno,
 Of ffrowardnesse yit wyl he fleen be nyght
 And quenche laumpys, though they brenne bright.
 Thynges contrarye may nevir accorde in oon;
 A fowle gloowearn in dirknesse showith a lyght;
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The wourld is tournyd almoost up-so-doun,
 Undir prynces ther dar noon officeer,
 Peyne of his lyff, do noon extorcioun;
 Ffreerys dar nat fflatere, nor no pardowneer,
 Where evir he walke al the longe yéer,
 Awtentyk his seelys everychoon,
 Up peyne of cursyng, I dar remembre heer,
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon,

Alle estatys of good condicioun
 Wille noon of them offende his conscience.
 Bysshoppis, prelatys, of oon affeccioun
 Kepe ther chargys of entieer dilligence;
 Avaunsyd persownys holde residence
 Among ther parysshens, make a departysoun
 Of ther tresours to folk in indigence;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

I saugh a kevello, corpulent of stature,
 Lyk a materas redlyd was his coote,
 And theron was sowyd this scripturo,
 A good be stille is weel wourth a groote.
 It costith nat mekyl to behoote,
 And paye ryght nought whan the feyre is doon
 Suych labourerys synge may be roote,
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Atwen a shipe with a large seyl
 And ■ cokboot that goth in Tempso lowe,
 The toon hath oorys, to his greet avayl,
 To spede his passage whan the wynd doth blowe,
 A blynd maryneer, that doth no sterre knowe,
 His loodmannage to conveye down;
 A ffresh comparisoun, ■ goshawk and ■ crowe;
 Allo go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The royalle egle, with his fetherys dunne,
 Whoos eyen been so cleer and so bryght
 Off nature, he porce may the sunne;
 The owgly bakke wyl gladly fleen be nyght
 Dirk cressetys and laumpys that been lyght;
 The egle alofte, the snayl goth lowe down,
 Darythe in his shelle, yit may he se no sight;
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The pecock hath ffetherys bryght and sheno;
 The corneraunt wyl daryn in the lake;
 Popyngayes froo Paradys comyn al grene;
 Nyghtynggales al nyght syngen and wake,
 For longe absence and wantyng of his make;
 Withoute avys make no comparysoun
 Atween a laumperey and a shynyng snake;
 Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Where is also a thyng incomparable,
 By cleer repoord, in al the would thorough right;
 The ryche preferryd, the poore is ay cowpable,
 In ony quarelle gold hath ay moost myght.
 Evir in dirknesse the owle takith his flight;
 It were a straunge unkouth devisyoun,
 Tersites wrecchyd, Ector moost wourthy knyght;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Is noon so proude, pompous in dignyté,
 As he that is so sodeynly preferryd
 To hih estat, and out of poverté;
Draco volans on nyght his tayl is sterryd;
Stellæ erraticæ nat flix, for they been erryd;
 Stable in the eyr is noon impressioun;
 This would wer stable, yif it were nat worryd;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Among estatys whoo hath moost quiete ?
 Hih lordshippes be vexid with bataylle ;
 Tylthe of ploughmen ther labour wyl nat lete ;
 Geyn Phebus uprist syngen wyl the quaylle ;
 The ameraus larke of nature wyl not faylle
 Ageyn Aurora synge with hire mery sown ;
 No laboureer wyl nat for his travaylle ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Foo unto hevys and enemy is the drane ;
 Men with a tabour may lyghtly cacche an hare ;
 Bosard with botirflyes makith beytis for a crane ;
 Brechelees beerys be betyn on the bare ;
 Houndys for favour wyl nat spare
 To pynche his pylche with greet noyse and soun ;
 Clepith he merye that slombryth with greet care ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

I sauh a krevys, with his klaves longe,
 Pursewe a snayl, poore and impotent ;
 Hows of this snayl, the wallys wer nat stronge,
 A slender shelle, the sydes al torent.
 Whoo hath no goold, his tresour soone spent ;
 The snaylis castel but a sklendir coote ;
 Whoo seith trouthe, ofte he shalle be shent ;
 A good be stille is ofte weel wourth a groote.

Whoo hath noon hors on a staff may ryde ;
 Who bath no bed, may slepyn in his hood ;
 Whoo hath no dyneer, at leyser must abyde,
 To staunche his hungir abyde upon his ffood.
 A beggers appetight is alway ffressh and good,
 With voyde walet, whan al his stuff is doon,
 Ffor fawte of vitaylle may knele afore the skood ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The ryche man sit stuffyd at his stable ;
 The poore man start hungry at the gate,
 Of remossaylles he wolde be partable ;
 The awmeneer seyth he cam to late.
 Off poore men doolys is no sekir date,
 Smal or rygght nought whan the feeste is doon.
 He may weel grucche and with his tounge prate ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

A good be stille is weel wourth a groote ;
 Large language causith repentaunce ;
 The kevel wroot in his rydlyd boote,
 Out with al this marke in your remembraunce.
 Whoo cast his journé in Yngelond or in Fraunce,
 With gallyd hakeney, whan men have moost to doon,
 A fool presumptuous, to cacche hym acquoyntaunce ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Whoo that is hungry, and hath no thyng but boonys
 To staunche his apetyght, is a froward food ;
 Among an hundryd oon chose out for the noonys
 To dygestioun repastys be nat goode.
 To chese suyeh vitaylles ther braynes wer to woode.
 That lyoun is gredy that stranglith goos or capoun ;
 Fox and ffulmard, togidre whan they stoode,
 Sang, be stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Here al thyng and kepe thy pacienco ;
 Take no quarelle, thyнк mekyl and soy nought ;
 * A good be stille, with discreet seilence
 For a good grote may not wel be bought.
 Keep cloos thy tounge, men sey that free is thought,
 A thyng seid oonys, outhir late or soon,
 Tyl it be loost, stoole thyng is nat sought ;
 Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.*

Explicit quod Lydgate.

ON THE POPULAR DISCONTENT AT THE DISASTERS
IN FRANCE.¹

(Written about 1449.)

Bedforde.² Gloucetter.³
The Rote is ded, the Swanne is goone,
Excetter.⁴
The fry Cressett hath lost his lyght;
Therefore Ingland may make gret mone,
Were not the helpe of Godde almyght.
Roone.⁵
The castelle is wonne where care begowne,
Somerset.⁶
The Portecolys is leyde adowne;
Cardinalle.⁷
Iclosid we have oure welevetto hatte,
That keveryd us from many stormys browne.

¹ The various events alluded to in these cyphous verses, such as the deaths of the dukes of Gloucester and Exeter and of cardinal Beaufort, which occurred in 1447, and especially the loss of Rouen, which was surrendered to the French in that year, seem to fix their composition to the year following, or at latest to 1449. They are preserved in the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23, in the British Museum. This was one of the songs which paved the way for the popularity of the house of York.

² John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford, third son of king Henry IV., and regent of France, had died in 1435.

³ Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Henry IV., died under arrest at Bury St. Ed-

munds in 1446, and is believed to have been murdered.

⁴ John Holland, duke of Exeter, who died ■ the 5th of August 1446.

⁵ Rouen ■ surrendered to the French in 1447.

⁶ Edmund Beaufort, earl of Somerset, under which title he was made regent of France on the recall of the duke of York in 1445, and created duke of Somerset ■ the 31st of March 1448. After the loss of Rouen and Caen, he was recalled from his command in France, and had to encounter great unpopularity, both for his mismanagement in France, and because he was one of the court favourites.

⁷ Cardinal Beaufort died on the 11th of April 1447.

Northfolke.¹

The White Lion is leyde to slepe,

Southfolk.

Therouȝ the envy of the Ape clogge;
And he is bownden that oure dore shuld kepe,
That is Talbott oure goodo dogge.²

Fawkenberge.³

The Fisshere hathe lost his hangulhooke;
Gste theym agayne whon it wolle be.

Wylloby.⁴

Oure Myllo-saylle wille not abowte,
Hit hath so longe goone emptye.

Warwik.⁵

The Bere is bound that was so wild,
Ffor he hath lost his ragged staffe.

Bokyngham.⁶

The Carte nathe is spokeles,
For the counseille that he gaffe.

Danyelle.⁷

The Lily ■ both faire and grene;

Norreys.⁸

The Coundite romnyth not, as I wone.

¹ John de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. The reference is probably to the duke who died in 1432, and who had distinguished himself in the French wars under Henry V.

² The great warrior John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had been recalled from active service in France.

³ William Neville lord Fauconberg, one of the distinguished heroes of the French wars.

⁴ Robert lord Willoughby, another of the heroes of the French wars.

⁵ Richard Neville, created earl of Warwick on the 4th of May 1442. He espoused the party of the duke of York, and was taken and be-

headed at the battle of Wakefield. He was the father of the king-maker.

⁶ Humphrey de Stafford, created duke of Buckingham on the 14th of September 1444. He was killed in the battle of Northampton, in 1460.

⁷ Thomas Daniel, "armiger," or esquier, was one of the unpopular courtiers, who appears in this same Cottonian Roll, ii. 29, as one of those indicted at Rochester ■ the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 20th Hen. VI. (August 15, 1451).

⁸ John Norris, one of the officers of the household to Henry VI.

Trevilian.¹

The Cornysshē Chowgh oft with his trayne

Rex.

Hath made oure Egulle blynde.

Arundelle.²

The White Harde is put out of mynde,

Because he wolle not to hem consent ;

Therefore the commyns saith is both trow and kynde

Bothe in Southesex and in Kent.

Bowser.³

The Water-Bowge and the Wyne-Botelle,

Prior of Saint Johanis.

With the Vetturlockes cheyne bene fast.

Excettur.

The Whete-yere wolle theym susteyne

As longe as he may endure and last.

Devynshire.⁴

The Boore is farre into the west,

That shold us helpe with shilde and spere ;

Yorke.⁵

The Fawkopn fleyth, and hath ■■ rest,

Tille he witte where to bigge his nest.

¹ Daniel Trevilian, included in the articles against the duke of Suffolk. A John Trevelyll is enumerated among the persons indicted at Rochester in 1461, ■ "nuper de London, armiger."

² William Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.

³ Henry lord Bouchier, whose arms were argent, ■ cross ingrailed gules, between four water-bougets,

sable. The wine-bottle may perhaps refer ■ James Butler, created earl of Wiltshire in 1449.

⁴ Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, ■ of the heroes of the French wars, and ■ staunch supporter of the Lancastrian cause.

⁵ The duke of York had at this time retired to his government in Ireland.

ON THE ARREST OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.¹

Now is the Fox² drevin to hole; hoo to hym, hoo!
hoo!

Ffor and he crope out, he wille yow alle undo.

Now ye han founde parfite, love welle your game;

For and ye renne countre thenne be ye to blame.

Sum of yow holdith with the Fox, and rennythe hare;

But he that tiede Talbot oure doge, ovylle mot he fare!

Ffor now we mys the black doge withe the wide
mouthe;

Ffor he wolde have ronnon welle at the Fox of the
southe.

And alle gooth bacwarde, and Donne is in the myre;
As they han deservede, so pay they ther hire.

Now is tyme of Lent, tho' Fox is in the Towre;

Therefore sende hym Salesbury to be his confessoure.³

Many mo ther bene, and we kowde hem knowe;

But wonne most begynne the daunce, and alle come
arowe.

* Loke that your hunte blowe welle thy chase;

But he do welle is part, I beshrew is face!

This Fox at Bury slowe oure grete gandore;⁴

Therefore at Tyborne mony monne one hym wondere.

Jack Napys, with his clogge,

Hath tiede Talbot oure gentille dogge.

¹ From the Cotton, Rolls, ii. 23.

² The duke of Suffolk, who was accused, among other crimes, of having promoted the murder of the duke of Gloucester.

³ Richard Neville, earl of Salis-

bury, was one of the great political opponents of the duke of Suffolk.

⁴ The duke of Gloucester, who was accused and arrested when attending the parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds in 1446.

Wherefore Beamownt,¹ that gentille rache,
 Hath brought Jack Napis in an eville cache.
 Be ware, al menne, of that blame,
 And namly ye of grete fame,
 Spirituall and temperalle, be ware of this,
 Or els hit wille not be, welle, iwis.
 Gave save the kynge, and God forbede
 That he suche apes any mo fede.
 And of the perille that may befalle
 Be ware, dukes, erles, and barons alle.

Gens erit australis rector regni generalis,
 Et regit injusto, periet quoque postea justa.
 He is wise that is wode, he is rich that haso no
 goode;
 He is blynde that may se, he is riche that shalle
 never ithe;
 He is fledde that is not ferde, and he abideth that
 maketh alle your berdes.

ON BISHOP BOOTHE.²

Boothe, be ware, bisshope³ thoughe thou be,
 Sithe that Symoun hym selff set the in thy sete,
 Petur his pagent played not with the;
 Caro and Sanguis did pryvely plete;
 Thy goode and thy catelle made the to mete
 With the church of Chester, whiche crieth, alas!
 That to suche a mafflarde marryede she was.

¹ John lord Beaumont, lord constable of England, who in that capacity arrested the duke of Suffolk.

² From the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 28. It was evidently written in the middle of the excitement against the duke of Suffolk.

³ William Boothe, made bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1417, was promoted to the archbishopric of York in 1453. This see was, during several centuries after the Norman conquest, called popularly the bishopric of Chester.

Prese not to practise on the priveté
 Of princes powere, but pluk at the ploughe ;
 Clayme thou ■ Carter crafty to be ;
 Medille the no ferthere, for that is ynoughe.
 Thow hast getyne gret goode, thou wost welle how.
 By symoni and usure bilde is thy bothe ;
 Alle the worlde wote welle this sawys be sothe.

The psalmus of the sawtor, or Salamonis boke,
 Austyne or Ambrose, or othore tretyes ther are,
 But litelle on the lessons lust the to loke.
 Be not to bolde, but be thou wel ware.
 The wit of this worlde wantonly ware,
 And likenyde to lewdenes lorne in my lore ;
 Shame sewith sone, whenne syn gooth byfore.

Sum servyne silvor, and sorow they doone sache ;
 Synne is ther soveraigne, se what I say.
 Loke on this lessoun, and lerne of a leche,
 Thy soule for to save with *miserere mei*.
 The printe of ■ palsy wisith the thy way,
 And shewith by thy semblant to sey the ther sothe,
 That tyme is to course hens, and breke up the bothe.

Cast in thy conciens clerkly to knowe,
 Publique and privathe is alle one ;
 Tullius hit tellith fulle trewly y trowe,
 The regentes of Rome mony day gone,
 In honours and havour lile hem allone,
 And of the wide worlde worthiest they were,
 To the commyne thyngs in charité they kere.

But whenne they bogane godes to encrese,
 To prevat persons sorow and shame,
 Dishonoure, dispite, rebuke dide in prese,
 With alle maner myscheff disserityng ther fame ;
 Lost alle ther lose of ther nobille name,
 Disperpiled theyme in warde, and put theyme to declyne ;
 Remembre now how Rome felle to a ruyne.

Justice ne was egaly execute,
 Fredome was forfarene for lak of liberté,
 Right was repraysede and founde for no repute,
 They were punysshede and tokyne in gré.
 Rigour of lawe hit wolde no better be;
 Dethe thoghe hit were, they myzt no better escape,
 But the grete and the goldede they made but a jape,
 And lepe over lawe at ther owne lust;
 Ifavour and favelle, foule faille they ferys,
 Broghte forthe avarice fast by the fiste.
 * * * * *

These were the rasours and the sharpe sheres,
 These were the same that Rome overthrewe;
 Wittenes of writyng alle this is trewe.

These made ther enmyes thenne to summyse,
 And put fro ther powere with shenshippe and shame;
 Cronicles thise causis craftly canne devise,
 And tellene how trechery brought in the blame.
 Hit is not in Englonde now the selff same;
 Discusse it with diligens, and telle iff hit be,
 This pagent is pringnant, sir Pilat, pardé.

And ye in youre olde age put in pres,
 And pecus the parlious youre parfettes to play,
 And pray for the party to make his pees,
 That alle the worlde crieth oute on, sotly to say.
 The voyse of the pepille is clepede *vow Dei*;
 It is agayns grace and a gret griff
 To maynetayne a mater of suche myscheffe.

Vow oppressorum one the prince playnyth,
 And one the priste eke, be warre yow off wreche;
 Juggement and justice tho that theym waynyth,
 Serche out and se welle, sorow they seche.
 The juge that is unjuste is a shrewede leche;
 Tent to the tale of Treviliane,
 And fynde by his falsed what worshippe he wan.

Be ware of this warnyng, and wayte welle aboute,
 I counselle the corse not, ne blame not the bille,
 * ■ * * *

Yt is myche lesse harme to bylle thanne to kyll.
 Be no more blynde, but weynyth youre wille,
 To set yow in sewrté holde up youre honde,
 God save the kyng, his lawe, and his londe.

Men seyne that youre secte is opynly knowyne and
 asspiede,

Concludede in conciens wonne of the tweyne,
 That ye be ychone with tresoun aliede,
 Or els hit is luere that makoth you to loyne.
 Pité for to here the people complayne,
 And riken up the ragmanne of the hole rowle,
 That servyth silvyre and levyth the law oute.

So alle the set that for the swayne sewe,
 Whether mony or mede make yow to mowe,
 Try out the trouthe, myght he be trewe,
 That covetise hath causede this gret myschoff.
 By rapyne of richese put this in prefe;
 Muse one this mater, and be no more blynde;
 Be faithoffulle and feynte not sawlus to fynde.

God kepeoure kyng ay, and gide hym by graco,
 Save hym fro Southefolkes, and frome his foos alle;
 The Pole is ■ parlyus men for to passe,
 That fewe can ascape hit of the banck rialle.
 But set under suger he shewithe hem galle;
 Witnes of Humfrey, Henry, and Johan,¹
 Whiche late were one lyve, and now be they goon.

And mony other that nedith not to telle,
 Sum bene ago, and summe abidene here;
 Hit is a shrowde polo, pounde, or a welle,

¹ Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester; Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester; and John duke of Bedford.

That drownithe the dowghty, and bryngethe hem
abeere.

And alle is for the lordane lovithe no pere.
Practyse his preff of alle that I sey,
God kepe oure kyng, and hym to convey.

Bridelle yow, bysshoppe, and be not to bolde,
And biddeth yowre beawperes ■ to the same;
Cast away covetyse now be ye bolde,
This is alle earnest that ye calle game.
The belesire ye be, the more is youre blame.
Trowthe tellithe the tale, and wille it not hide;
Your labour for lucro is playnly aspiede.
God, for his mercy alle this reme gyde.

A WARNING TO KING HENRY.¹

Ye that have the kyng to demone,
And ffrauncheses gif theyme agoync,
Or els I rede ye fle;
Ffor ye have made the kyng so pore,
That now he beggeth fro dore to dore;
Alas, hit shuld so be.

Tome of Say² and Danielle bothe,
To begyn be not to lothe;
Then shalle ye have no shame.
Who wille not, he shalle not chese,
And his life he shalle lese,
No resoun wille us blame.

¹ From the Cotton. Charters, ff. 23.

² James Fienes, lord Saye and Sele, lord treasurer, was one of the unpopular statesmen of the day, and having been, ■ a matter of policy, committed to the Tower, he was

dragged thence by the mob in Jack Cade's rebellion, and was beheaded by them ■ the 4th of July 1451. This song ■ written apparently before this nobleman was thrown into the Tower.

Trowthe and pore men ben appressedo,
 And myscheff is nothyng redressedo;
 The kyng knowith not alle.
 Thorowout alle Englonde,
 On tho that holdene the fals bonde
 Vengeaunce wille cry and calle.

The traytours wene they bone so sly,
 That no mane can hem aspy;
 Wo cane do theme no griffe.
 Wo swore by hym that hairwede helle
 They shalle no lenger in cressy dwelle,
 Ne in ther fals beleve.

So pore a kyng was never seene,
 Nor richere lordes alle bydone;
 The communes may no more.
 The lorde Say biddeth holde hem downe,
 That worthy dastardo of renowne,
 He techithe a fals loore.

Suffolk Normandy hath swoldo,
 To gete hyt agayne he is bolde,
 How acordeth these to in one;
 And he wenythe, withouten drede,
 To make the kyng to avowe his dede,
 And calle hit no tresoun.

We trow the kyng be to leere,
 To selle bothe menne and lond in feere;
 Hit is agayne resoun.
 But yof the commyns of Englonde
 Helpe the kyng in his fonde,
 Suffolk wolle bere the crowne.

Be ware, kynge Henré, how thou doos;
 Let no lenger thy traitours go loos;
 They wille never be trewe.
 The traytours are sworne alle togedere
 To holde fast as they were brother;
 Let hem drynk ■ they hanne brewe.

The chaunselere that last was hath staffes take,
 Blanke charters, to done us wrake,

No nombre of them, hit is ferde.

Ho wolke not suffre the clerkes preche;
 Trowthe in no wise he wille not teche;
 He is the devels sheparde.

This bille is trewe; who wille say nay,
 In Smythfelde synge he a day,

And the helpe of the rode;

That traitours shalle provide;
 More resoun canne not be mevide;
 Ther shalle hit be made goode.

O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex;
 Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recte regas.

VERSES AGAINST THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.¹

Ffor feer or for favour of ony fals mane,

Loose not the love of alle the commynalté;

Be ware and sey, by seint Juliane,

Duke, jwge, baroun, archebisschops and he be,

He wolke repent it within this monthes thre.

Let folke accused excuse theym selff, and they cano;

Reseyve no goode, let soche bribry be;

Support not theyme this wo bygane,

And let theym suche clothis as they spane,

And take from theym ther wages and ther fee,

or, by God and seint Anne!

Som must go hens, hit may none othere weys be,

And els is lost alle this lond and we;

Hong up suche menne to oure soverayne lordo,

That ever counselde hym with fals men to be acorde.

Anno milleno Domini centumque quaterno

L. simplex pleno caveat omnis homo.

¹ From the Cottonian Rolls, ii. 23

ON THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.¹

May 3, 1450.

In the monethe of May, when gressse groweth grene,
 Flagrant in her floures, with swete savour,
 Jac Napes wolde one the see a maryner to ben,
 With his cloge and his cheyn, to seke more tresour.
 Suyche a payn prikkede hym, he asked a confessour.
 Nicolas² said, "I am redi thi confessour to be;"
 He was holden so that he ne passedo that hour.
 For Jac Napes soulo *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Who shalle execute his exequies with a solempnité?
 Bisshopes and lordes, as grete reson is;
 Monkes, chanons, prestes, and other clergie,
 Pray for this dukes soulo that it might come to blis;
 And let never suyche another come after this;
 His interfectours blessed might thei be,
 And graunte them for thor, dede to regne with
 angelis;
 And for Jac Nape soulo *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

"*Placebo*," begynnetho the bisshop of Norforde.³
 "*Dilexi*, for myn avauncement," saitho the bisshop
 of Ochestre.⁴
 "*Heu mei*," saith⁵ Salisbury,⁵ "this gothe to forre fortho."
 "*Ad Dominum cum tribularer*," saith the abbot
 of Gloucestre.⁶

¹ From MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 1, v^o.

² Nicholas ■■■ the ■■■ of the ship which arrested the vessel on which the duke of Suffolk was embarked.

³ Reginald Baker, who had been promoted to this see from the abbacy of Gloucester in 1450.

⁴ Boothe, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. See the note, p. 225.

⁵ Richard Beauchamp was elected bishop of Salisbury in 1450.

⁶ Reginald, abbot of St. Peter's in Gloucester; he was one of the unpopular courtiers indicted at Rochester in 1451, according to the Cottonian Roll.

"*Dominus custodit*," saith the abbot of Rouchestre.
 "Levavi oculos," saith frere Stanbury, "*volavi*."
 "Si iniquitates," saith the bisshop of Worcestre;¹
 "For Jac Nape soule de *profundis clamavi*."

"*Opera manuum tuarum*," seith the cardynal wisely,²
 That brought forthe *confitebor*, for alle this Napes
 reson.

"*Audivi vocem*," songe Allemyghtty God on hye;
 And therfore syng we "*Magnificat anima mea*
 "*Dominum*."

Unto this dirige most we gon and come
 This pascalle tyme, to say veryli
 Thre psalmes and thre lessouns, that alle is and somme,
 For Jac Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Executors of this office *Dirige* for to syng,
 Shalle begyn the bisshop of synt Asse;³
 "*Verba mea auribus*," saith abbot of Redynge;
 "Alle your joye and hope is come to alassee."
 "*Commiltere, Domine*, yet graunte us grace,"
 Saith abbot of synt Albans ful sorily.

The abbot of the Toure hille, with his fat face,
 Quaketh and tremuleth for "*Domine, ne in furore*."

Maister Water Liard⁴ shal syng "*Ne quando*."
 The abbot of Westmynstae, "*Domine Deus meus, in*
 "*te speravi*;"

¹ John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, who was also a great supporter of the high church party, and therefore of the court.

² John Kemp, archbishop of York, had been made cardinal at the close of the year 1439.

³ Thomas, bishop of St. Asaph,

a prelate who appears to have gained no degree of celebrity.

⁴ Walter Liard (in the ordinary lists of bishops he is called Hart and Lyhart) ■■■ bishop of Norwich from 1415 to 1472. This ■■■ also occurs in the list of unpopular courtiers indicted ■■ Rochester.

"*Requiem eternam* graunte them alle to come lo."
 Therto ■ pater-noster saith the bisshop of synt Davy¹
 For thes soules that wise were and mighty,
 Suffolk, Moleyns, and Roos, thes thre;²
 And in especial for Jac Napes, that ever was wyly,
 For his soule *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Rise up, Say, rede *parce in Domine*,
 "*Nihil enim sunt dies mei*," thou shalt synge.
 The bisshop of Carlyle³ sing "*Credo*" ful sore.
 To suyche fals traitours come foule endynges!
 The baron of Dudley with grete mornynges,
 Redethe, "*Tcedet animum meam vitce mee*."
 Who but Danyel *qui Lazarum* shal syng?
 For Jac Nape soule *Placebo* and *Dirige*,

John Say⁴ redethe, "*Manus tue fecerunt me*."
 "*Libera me*," syngethe Trevilian, "warre the 1ere,
 "That thei do no more so, *requiescunt in pace*."
 Thus prayes alle Englonde ferre and nerre.
 Where is Somerset? whi apores he not here,
 To synge "*Dies iree et miserie*!"
 God graunte Englonde alle in fere
 For thes traitours to syng *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Meny mo ther be behynde, the sothe for to telle,
 That shal messes oppon thes do synge.
 I pray som ■ do rynges the belle,
 That these forsaiden may come to the saerynges;
 And that in brief tyme, without more tarienge,
 That this messe may be ended in suyche degre;
 And that alle Englonde joyfulle may synge
 The commendacioun with *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

¹ John Delamere was consecrated bishop of St. David's in 1417.

² Lord Hungerford had at this time succeeded, by right of his wife, to the title of lord Molines. He was ■ partizan of the house of Lan-

caster. Thomas Lord Ros was also a stanch partizan of the party of Henry VI.

³ Nicholas Clovo.

⁴ In the Rochester list, John Say is described as "esquire, of London."

ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE TIMES.¹

Ffulfyllid ys the prof[e]s[s]y for ay
 That Merlyn sayd, and many on mo,
 Wysdam ys wel ny away,
 No man may knowe hys f[r]end fro foo.
 Now gyllorys don gode men gye;
 Ryȝt gos redles alle behynde;
 Truthe ys turnyd to se trechery;
 Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

Now gloserys fulle gayly they go;
 Pore men be perus of this land;
 Sertes sum tyme hyt was not so,
 But sekyr alle this ys synnes sonde.
 Now maynte[n]e[r]ys be made justys,
 And lewde men rowle the lawe of kynde;
 Nobulle men be holdyn wyse,
 Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

Truthe is set at lytyl prys;
 Worschyp fro us longe hath be slawo;
 Robberys now rewle ryȝtwysenesse,
 And wynnerys with her sothe sawo;
 Synne sothfastnesse has slawo;
 Myrth ys now out of mannys mynde;
 Tho drede of God ys al todrawo;
 Ffor now the bysom ledys the b[l]ynde.

¹ From MS. Harl 5396, fol 295, r^o. Unfortunately two lines are lost by the close cutting of the bottom of the leaf. An entry on the last page of the manuscript, in the same handwriting ■ this poem, gives the date of St. Bartholomew's day, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI., i.e., August 24, 1456.

Now brocage ys made offycerys ;
 And baratur ys made bayly ;
 Knyztus be made custemerys,

* * * *

Flaterorys be made kyngus perys ;
 Lordys be led alle out of kynde ;
 Pore men ben knyztus forys ;
 Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

The constery ys combryd with covoytyso,
 Ffor trowth his sonkyn undur the grounde ;
 W[ith] offycyal nor den no favour ther ys,
 But if sir symony shewe them sylver rounde.
 Ther among sp[irit]ualty it ys founde,
 Ffor peté ys clene out of ther mynde.
 Lord, whan thy wyll is, al ys confounde ;
 Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

Ho ys lovyd that wole can lye ;
 And thevys tru mon honge ;
 To God I rede that we cry,
 That this lyfe last not long.
 This world is turnyd up-so-douno among ;
 For frerys ar confessourys, agayn a kynde,
 To the chiefe ladyes of this londe ;
 Therfor the bysom ledys the blynde.

Lordys the lawe they lere,

* * * *

Japerys syt lordys ful nere ;
 Now hath the devylle alle hys devys ;
 Now growyth the gret flour-de-lys ;
 Wymmonis wyttes are fulle of wynd ;
 Now ledres ladye the leward at her debres ;
 For ■■■ the bysom ledys [the] blynde.

Now prelates don pardon selle,
And holy chyrche ys chaffare,
Holynes comyth out of helle,
Ffor absoluciouns waxyn ware.
Gabberys glosen eny whare,
And gode foyth comys alle byhynde;
Ho shalle be levyd the sothe wylle spare?
Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

The grete wylle the sothe spare,
The comonys love not the grete;
Therfor every man may care,
Lest the wade growe over the whete.
Take hede how synne hath chastysyd Frauns,
Whan he was in hys fayrest kynde;
How that Flaundrys hath myschannys;
Ffor cause the bysom ledyth the blynde.

Therfor every lord odor avauns,
And styfly stond yn ych a stoure;
Among zou make no dystaunce,
But, lordys, buskys zou out of boure.
Ffor to hold up this londus honour,
With strenkyth our enmys for to bynde,
That we may wyne the hevynly tour;
Ffor here the bysom ledys the blynde.

Explicit.

ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE TIMES.¹*How myschaunce regnythe in Ingeland.*

Now God, that syttyst an hyghe in trone,
 Help thy peple in here greet nede,
 That trowthe and resoun regne may sone,
 For thanno schal they leve owt of drede.
 In that wyse conscience schal hem lede,
 Hem to brynge onto good governaunce;
 That yt may sone be doon in dede;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

And men wolde, and take good hode,
 This lond ys now full of inyquyté;
 And al that causyth the mayde Mede,
 The wyche feer bannyd ys from felycyté.
 There that sche regnyth ther ys no prosperyté,
 To holy cherche sche doth greet grovaunce;
 For of here apoyryd ys the hyghe dygnyté,
 Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Mede makyth fele men for to weope,
 Wyth here frendys sche wol abyde,
 The wyche cunne here goodys wysely kepe,
 Be manye false weyes here wyttys gyde.
 Untrowthe regnyth in many a syde,
 For agayn here ys a greet distaunce,
 That knowen ys ful feer and wyde;
 Of al oure synnys, Good, make a delyveraunce.

¹ From ■ MS. in the University | 134, v^o, in a handwriting of the
 Library, Cambridge, ff. 1. 6, fol. | reign of Henry VI.

Meed and falscheed associed are ;
 Trowthe bannyd ys, the blynde may not se ;
 Manye a man they make fulle bare,
 A strange compleynt ther ys of every degré.
 The way ys now past of tranquyllyté,
 The wyche causyth a full greet varyaunce ;
 Amange the comunys ther ys no game nor gle ;
 Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

And men myghte wel the hyghe wey fynde
 Of trowthe and resoune, and where they dwolle ;
 Meede wyth here help stand scholde behynde,
 In dyspyte of alle the develys of helle,
 Untrowthe wyt many oon scholde no more melle ;
 Falsehed and sche byn bothe of oon substaunce,
 Alle be they not worth ■■■ oyster-schelle ;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Murdre medolythe ful ofte, as men say ;
 Usure and rapyne steffy clothe stande,
 Here abydyngs ys wythe her that goon ful gay ;
 For whanne they wele they have hom in hande.
 And thus they rogne throughe thys lande ;
 Ful manye they brynge to myschaunce.
 Wyse men, beholden, be wayr al afore hande ;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Idylnesse and thefte 3yt have they no care,
 Thoughe that thys worlde thus endure ever more ;
 Oftyn tymes here wyde purse is full bare,
 And other whyles here schoon be al totore ;
 The mete that thei ete ys alle forlore ;
 On the galwys they scholde anhaunse ;
 They greve the comunys, and that ryghte sore ;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Slowthe and nedygence ful sore empecho
 Justise, that scholde rogne contenually;
 Coveytyse causyth that, for he dothe teche
 Of all astatys seme fulle besyly.

The prosperite of thys land thus they gy
 Forthewyth togedere al to the daunce;

A wronge way to werke alle they be redy;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Wyght ys blak, as many men seye,

And blak ys wyght, but summe men sey nay;
 Auctoryteys for hem they toloye;

Large conscience causyth they croked way.

In thys reame they make a foul aray.

Whanne the dyse renne, ther lakkythe a chaunce;

Clene conscien bakward goth alway;

Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Myscheof mengid ys, and that in every syde;

Dyscord medelythe ful fast amonge;

The gatis of glaterye standen up wyde,

Hom semythe that al ys ryghte and no wronge.

Thus endurid they have al to longe;

Crosse and pyle standen in balaunce;

Trowthe and resoun be no thyng stronge;

Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Rychesse renewyd causithe the perdicoun

Of trowthe, that scholde stande in prosperyte;

Between here and hope ys mayd a devisioun,

And that ys al for lak of charyte;

Wherefore ther regnothe no tranquillyte;

Thys maleor causithe the fool ignoraunce,

That the peple may not in cese be;

Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

He that hatho the word at hys owne wylle,
 Helthe, rychesse, and contynual tranquillyté,
 Ech mannys hestes ys glad to fulfyllé,
 He thenkyth upon noon deversité.
 Ful unsewyr ätte the laste may he be
 To sette hys herte in swycho abundaunce;
 Dampnacioun yt schewythe, as thenkythe me;
 Of allé oure sennys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Wyghte is wyghte, zyf yt leyd to blake;
 And soote ys swettere aftur bytternesse;
 And falsenesse ys evere drevene abake,
 Where the thoughte ys rootyd wytheowte dubbil-
 nesse.

Wytheowte preef may not be sykerness;
 Wherefore trowthe and resoun scholde hem avaunce,
 For to take to hem stedefastnesse.
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

That unhappy insacyable simonia
 Now regnotho in Ingeland, and that sore;
 He sparithe not for closynge of allehrya;
 Woo worthe the tyme that overe was ho bore!
 Unavysyd clerk soone may be forlore
 Unto that theef to donne obeysaunce;
 For as afore God they ben forswore;
 Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Hatrede and praptyk of fals auötorité
 Al good consciencie they putten owte;
 Of trowthe and resoun lettynge the prosperyté;
 Wherefore concord ys put feer abowte.
 And zyf men wolde stonden owt of dowte
 Drede of God, wylt a good atemperaunce
 From these synnys scholde make hem schowte,
 And put hem alle to a pleyne delyveraunce.

Vengeaunce and wrathio in an hastyvyló,
 Wyth an unstedofast sporyte of indyscerocioun,
 Been the ■■■■ that men may not yn eso be ;
 For here consentynge drawith to confusioun.
 Al londys putten thys land in derisidun.
 For thys usyd ys oonly of acustomaunce,
 3yf that day may come of a good conolusioun,
 Of alle oure synnys to make a delyveraunce.

Men of holy cheiche, that been ful wyse,
 Scholde meekly preyo with good devosioun,
 That trowthe and resoun myghle sone aysse,
 For to bryng away thys false tribulacioun ;
 And that the hoveis heid with good medylacioun
 May the pore peple swych wyse avaunce,
 In the diede of God to sette here ocupacyoun,
 Of al here synnys to make a delyveraunce.

And men wolden weel hem self knowe,
 Grace for to aske in here greet neede,
 To God here hertis bowyng ful lowe,
 Almesse doynge weel to taken heedle,
 Pylgrimage goyng to gete hem mede,
 Prayeng and fastynge with good remembraunce,
 Body and sowle so they may hem lede
 Into blysse of eternalle purvyaunce.

Now, God, that art ful of al pletovousnesse,
 Of al vertuys grace and charyté,
 Putte from us al thys unsekyrnesse,
 That we stande ynne in grete necessyté,
 That agayn trowthe no varyeng be,
 Al tymes that art fountoyne of al felycité,
 Of al oure synnys thou make a delyveraunce.

AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.¹

Lo, he that can be Cristes clerc,
 And knowe the knottes of his crede,
 Now may se a wonder werke
 Of harde happes to take goud heede.
 The dome of detho is hevy diede
 For hym that wol not mercy crie;
 Than is my rede, for mucke ne mede
 That no man melle of lollardrye.

I sey for meself, yut wist I never
 But now late what hit shuld be,
 And, by my trouthe, I have wel lever
 No more kyn than my a, b, c.
 To lolle so hie in suyche dogro
 Hit is no perfit profecie;
 Sauf seker sample to the and me
 To be war of lollardie.

The game is nozt to lolle so hie
 Ther fete failen fondement;
 And yut is a moche folie
 For fals beleve to bon brent.
 Ther the Bibelle is al myswent
 To jangle of Job or Jeremye,
 That construen hit after her entent
 For lewde lust of lollardie.

¹ From MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 2, v^o. I have put together here a few short pieces on the religious disputes of this period. The first belongs, perhaps, to a rather earlier

date, as it seems to contain a continuous allusion to the celebrated Sir John Oldcastle, who was put to death in 1418, but the others belong evidently to the reign of Henry VI.

Hit is unkyndly for a kniȝt,
 That shuld a kynges castel kepe,
 To babbe the Bibel day and niȝt
 In restyng tyme when he shuld slepe;
 And carefoly away to crepe,
 For alle the chief of chivalrie.
 Wel aught hym to waile and wope,
 That suyche lust hath in lollardie.

An old castel, and not repaired,
 With wast walles and wowes wide,
 The wages ben ful yvel waied
 With suiche a capitayn to abide;
 That reithe riot for to ride
 Agayns the kyng and his clergie,
 With privé peyne and pore pride;
 Ther is a poynt of lollardie.

For many a man withyn a while
 Shal aby his gult ful sore;
 So fele gostes to begile
 Hym aught to rue evermore.
 For his sorowe shal he never restore
 That he venemed with envye;
 But ban the burthe that he was of bore,
 Or ever had lust in lollardie.

Every shepe that shuld be fed in feldo,
 And kepte fro wolves in her folde,
 Hem nedethe nether spere no shuldo,
 Ne in no castel to be withholde.
 For ther the pasture is ful colde,
 In ■■■■ ■■■■ when hit is drie;
 And namly when the soyle is sokde,
 For lewde lust of lollardie.

An old castel draw al doun,
Hit is ful hard to rere hit now,
With suyche a congregacioun
That cast hem to be untrewe.
When beggers now nether bake ne browe,
Ne have wherwith to borow ne bie,
Than mot riot robbe or reve,
Unde[r] the colour of lollardie.

That castel is not for a kynge
That the walles ben overthrowe;
And yut wel wos abidyng
Whan the captayn away is flowe,
And forsake spere and bowe,
To crepe fro knizthode into alergie.
Ther is a bitter blast yblowe,
To be bawde of lollardie.

I trowe ther be no knizt alyve
That wold have don so open a shame,
For that crafte to studi or strive,
Hit is no gentel mannes game;
But if hym lust to have a name
Of pelour under ipocrasie,
And that were a foule defame
To have suyche lose of lollardie.

And, pardé, lolle thei never so longe,
Yut wol lawe make hem lowte;
God wol not suffie hem be so stronge
To bryng her purpos so abowte,
With saunz faile and saunz doute,
To rere riot and robberie;
By 1eson thoi shul not long route,
While the taile is docked of lollardie.

Of the hede hit is las charge,
 When grace wol not be his gide,
 Ne suffre hym for to lepe at large,
 But hevely his hede to hide.
 Where shuld he other route or ride
 Agayns the chief of chivalrie,
 Not hardi in no place to abide,
 For alle the sêkte of lollardie.

A! God, what unkyndly gost
 Shuld greve that God grucchede nouzt!
 Thes Lollardos that lothen ymages most
 With [redacted] handes made and wrouzt,
 And pilgrimages to be souzt;
 Thei seien hit is but mawmontrie.
 He that this lose first up brouzt,
 Had gret lust in lollardie.

He wer ful lowde that wold bylove
 In figure mad of stok or ston,
 Yul fourme shulde we nono reprevo,
 Nether of Marie ne of Jon,
 Petro, Poule, ne other nono
 Canonised by clergie;
 Than the seyntes everychone
 Be litel holdo to lollardie.

And namly James among hem alle,
 For ho twyes had turnement,
 Moche mischaunse mot him befallo
 That last beheded hym in Kent;
 And alle that wero of that assent.
 To Crist of heven I clepe and orie,
 Sende hem the [redacted] jugement,
 And alle the sekto of lollardie.

For that vengans agayns kynde
 Was ■ poynt of cowardyse;
 And namly suyche on to bote or bynde
 That miȝt not stande, set, ne rise.
 ■ What dome wold ye hym dovyso
 By lawe of armes or gentrie,
 But serve hym in the same wise,
 And alle the sekte of lollardie.

When falsnes faileth frele folie,
 Pride wol preseyn sone amonge;
 Than willerdome with old envy
 Can none other way but wrongo.
 For synne and shame with sorowe stronge,
 So overset with avutrie,
 That fals beleve is fayn to fonge
 The lewde lust of lollardie,

And under colour of sniche lollynge,
 To shape sodeyn surreccioun
 Agaynst oure liege lord kyng,
 With fals ymaginacioun.
 And for that corsed conclusion,
 By dome of kniȝthode and clergie,
 Now turneth to confusioun
 The sory sekte of lollardie.

For holy writ berithe witnes,
 He that fals is to his kyng,
 That shamful dethe and hard distres,
 Shal be his dome at his endyng.
 ■ Than double dethe for suyche lollynge
 Is hevy, when we shul hennes hye.
 Now, Lord, that madest of nouȝt alle thinge,
 Defende us alle fro lollardie.

TO THE KING.¹

O rex Anglorum, quæ sunt jam facta videto,
 Dudum gestorum signacula dura timeto.
 Quid, rex, est clerum sic per laicos laniari?
 Ut fatear verum signat procures superari.
 En, rex, a Græcis bellans fortuna recessit,
 Cleri facta necis hujus prognostica gessit.
 Signum, Roma, tibi quæ nunc armis viduatur,
 Cur? quia clerus ibi nec floret nec dominatur.
 En, rex, pro studio per singula regna timoris,
 Tu quia de proprio clero responsa mororis.
 O rex, tu videas spes hic distantibus an sit,
 Ut faculam foveas, scintilla decora remansit.
 Rex, si sit per te cleri facies relovata,
 Est tibi tunc certe victoria magna parata.
 Si fons siccatur, laico regnante furore,
 Miles vincetur belli privatus honore.
 Tu milos juras cleri defendero jura,
 Cur nunc non curas inflicta sibi mala dura.
 Rex, princeps, miles, clero rogo consocia te,
 Quisquis ad ista siles fugiet decus et vigor a te.
 Hæc duo si coeant sociari juncta valoro,
 Non sunt qui valeant nostros privare vigoro.
 Hoc scio quod clero miles bonus omnis adhaeret,
 Solus pro vero falsus sua prospera meret.
 Oxoniæ pereant rores et germina terræ,
 Singula te subeant strages et jurgia guerra.
 O plebs ingrata regi, mala signa parasti,
 Dura tibi fata veniant quia tanta patrusti.
 O rex, inviete, pueros recolas spoliatos,
 Sis rex vindictæ revocans terrore fugatos.

¹ From MS. Col. Merton, Oxon. No. 306, fol. 8, r^o.

A POLITICAL PROPHECY.¹

When Rome is removith into Englonde,
 And ilke preest haiit the popeis poure in hande,
 Betuene the iij^d and the sixte, who wold onderstonde,
 Moche were and wo schalle arysse in Englonde.
 Thayr challe tyde then a styffe be the stremis of
 Hommour,
 That a northyne slave schalle follow him for ever,
 The iij^d schalle recuire and rekyn of rulys,
 That haiit lywith in Lowthe many longe days.
 Than worthe upp, Walis, that vantithe no vylis,
 And holpe up thi brother with brite hardde brandis,
 Thi kynnys men of Yrlonde, lordes of honour,
 Thy schalle spende ther speres with dentes of dolour.
 To bringe owt of brawlis the kynd blod of Brutes,
 The whiche schalle lyve on to lyve of landes.

AGAINST THE FRIARS.²

Freeres, freeres, wo ze be!
ministri malorum,
 For many a mannes soule bringe ze
ad pœnas infernorum.
 Whan seyntes follo fryst from heveno,
quo prius habitabant,
 In erthe leyfft the synnus vil,
et fratres communicabant.

¹ From MS. Cotton. Cleopatra
 C. iv. fol. 81, v^o.

² From a MS. in Trin. Coll.,
 Cambridge, O. 2, 40, fifteenth cent

Falnes was the ffyrst flauré
quæ fratres pertulerunt ;
 For falnes and ffals dorei
multi perierunt.
 Fieeres, ze can weyl lye,
ad fallandum gentem ;
 And weyl can blero a mannus yo
pecunias habentem.
 Yf thei may no more geytto,
fruges petunt isti ;
 For falnes waldo thei not lottio,
qui non sunt de grege Christi.
 Lat a freer of sum ordur
tecum pernoctare,
 Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour
hic vult violare ;
 Or thi sun he weyl profur,
sicut furtam fortis ;
 God gyffo sycho a ffeor poyne
in inferni portis !
 Thei weyl assaylle boyth Jacke and Gylle,
licet sint prædones ;
 And parte off ponnans take hem tylle,
qui sunt latrones.
 Thor may no lordo of this cuntre
sic ædificare,
 As may thes freeres, where thei bo,
qui vadunt mendicare.
 Mony-makers I trow thei bo,
regis proditores,
 Therefore ylle mowyth thei thee,
falsi deceptores.
 Fader fyrst in Trinité,
filius, atque flamen.
Omnes dicant Amen.

ON THE CORRUPTION OF PUBLIC MANNERS.¹

Ye proude galontes hertlesse,
With your hyghe cappis witlesse,
And youre schort gownys thriftlesse,
Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.

With youre longe peked schone,
'Therfor your thurte is almost don,
And with youre long here into your eyen,
Han brought this lond to gret pyne.

Ye poepeholy prestis fulle of presomcioun,
With your wyde furryd hodes voyd of discrecioun,
Unto your owyn prechyng of contrary condicioun,
Wheche causithe the people to have l[] devocioun.

Avauncid by symony in coctes and townys,
Make schorter youre taylis and broder your ciounys;
Love your schort stuffide dowbelettes and your pleytid
gownys,²
And kepe your owyn howsyng, and passe not your
boundis.

Repreve non other men, I schalle tolle you whye,
Ye be so lowyd your selfe, there settithe no man you
bye,

It is not but a schame y[e] wold be callyd holly,
And worse dysposyd people levythe not undir the skye.

Ffirst make fre your selfe, that now to syne be
bunde,

Love syne, and drede it, than may ye take on hand
Othir to repreve, and that I undirstondo,
Ye may amende alle othor and bryng pece to londe.

¹ From MS. Harl. No. 372, fol. 113, r^o, of the time of Henry VI.

EPIGRAMS ON THE PUBLIC EXTRAVAGANCE.¹

Luffe, luffe, where is thi resto?
 Of Englonde I am oute kosto,
 Thurgh sir Envye.
 Thisse longo berdes to middlis the breste
 Has putt luffe oute of his noste,
 Thurgh felonye.

Fleshly lustes and festes,
 Furies of ferly bestes,
 Costefulle croupers with crestes,
 Fules that it first fonde;
 Robes made of serodes,
 Crisoly othes and grette modes,
 Flaterers and false dodes,
 Has schent Englonde.

ON THE TIMES.²

Now ys Yngland alle in fyght;
 Moche peple of consyens lyght;
 Many knyghtes, and lytyl of myght;
 Many lawys, and lytyllo ryght;
 Many actes of parlament,
 And few kept wyth tru ontent;
 Lytyllo charyté, and fayne to pleso;
 Many a galant penylos;

¹ From a MS. in the Library of
 Corpus Christi College, Oxford, No.
 274, fol. 156.

² From a MS. in Corp. Chr. Col.,
 Oxford, No. 237, fol. 236, v^o.

And many a wondurfulle dysgyzyng,
 By unprudent and myssavyzyng;
 Grete countenanse, and smalle wages;
 Many gentyllemen, and few pages;
 Wyde gownys, and large slevys;
 Wele besene, and strong thevys;
 Moch bost of there clothys,
 But wele I wot they lake none othys.

ON THE TIMES.¹

De miserrima responsione populi quæ jam instat.

Proh dolor! o crudi gestus sparsim juvenescunt,
 Rarescunt ludi, solatia cuncta senescunt.
 Crimen avaritiæ dominatur ubique locorum,
 Quæ quasi blanditiæ tollit terras miseriorum.
 Dormit militia vitata cupidine rerum,
 Pro quibus in vitia jam pugnat amor mulierum.
 Clerus decrescit, vestitu vulgus olescit,
 Curia ditescit, virtus in vilia cossit.
 Hæu! ratio moritur, pretio judex hebetescit,
 Fraude fides premitur, pietas cum lege recessit.
 Secta quidem consci perit entia pseudo-coloris;
 Inde sumus consi querula quocunque doloris:
 Dico parum prodest pro jure tribunal adire,
 Dum ratio vivat quæ jus faciet revocare.

¹ From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bodl. 892, fol. 177, r^o.

ON THE PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S OF THE
RECONCILED PARTIES.¹

(March 25, 1458.)

Whan charité is chosen with states to stonde
Stedfas and skillo without distaunce,
Than wrathe may be exiledo out of this londo,
And God oure gido to have the governaunce.
Wisdom and wellthe, with alle plesaunce,
May rightful regne, and prosperité;
For love bath underlaide wratheful venjaunce,
Rejoise, Anglonde, oure lordes acordedo to be.

Rejose, and thanke God for evermore,
For now shal encrease thi consolacion;
Oure enemyes quaken and dreden ful sore,
That peas is made ther was division.
Whiche to them is a gret confusion,
And to us joy and felicité.
God hold hem longe in overy season,
That Anglonde may rejoise concord and unité.

Now is sorowe with shame fled into Fraunce,
As a felon that hathe forsworn this londo;
Love hath put out malicious governaunce,
In every place bothe fre and bondo.
In Yorke, in Somerset, as I understondo,
In Warrewike, is love and charité,
In Sarisbury oke, and in Northumbrelando,
That every man may rejoise concord and unité.

¹ From MS. Cotton, Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 4, r^o.

Egremown and Clifford, with othor forsaide,
Ben set in the same opynyon.
In every quarter love is thus laide;
Grace and wisdom hathe thus the dominacion.
Awake, welthe, and walke in this region,
Rounde aboute in toun and cité;
And thanke them that brought hit to this conclusion;
Rejoise, Anglond, to concord and unité.

At Poules in Londoun, with gret renoun,
On oure Ladi day in Lent this peas was wrought;
The kyng, the quene, with lordes many oone,
To worship that virgine as thei ought,
Wenten a procession, and spariden right nought,
In sighte of alle the comynalté,
In token that love was in herte and thought;
Rejose, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Ther was bytwyn hom lovely countynaunce,
Whiche was gret joy to alle that ther were;
That long tyme hadden be in variaunce,
As frendes for ever that had be in fere.
Thei wenten togeder and made goud chire.
France and Britayn reponte shul thei;
For the bargayn shul thei abyge ful dore;
Rejose, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Oure soveraigne lord kyng God kepe alwey,
The quene, and the archebisshope of Canterbury,
And the bisshop of Wynchestre, chancellor of Anglonde,
And other that han labured to this love-day;
God preserve hem, we pray hertly,
And Londoun, for thei ful diligently
Kopton the peas in trowbel and adversité,
To bryng in reste thei labured ful truly;
Rejoise, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Of thre thynges I praiso the worshipful cité;
 The first, the true faitho that thei have to the
 kyngo;
 The secundo, of love to the comynalté;
 The thrid, goud rule for evermore kopyngo;
 The whiche God maynteyn evermore duryngo,
 And save the maier and alle the worthi cité;
 And that is anys God bryngo to amondyngo,
 That Anglond may rejoise to concorde and unité.

EPITAPH FOR RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.¹

A remembrer à tous cours de noblesse
 Que yey gist la fleur de gentillesse,
 Le puissant due d'York, Rycharl ot nom,
 Prince royal, preudomme de renom,
 Saige, vaillant, vertueux en sa vie,
 Qui bien ama loyaulté sans envie,
 Droyt heritier, prouvé en mainte terre,
 Des couronnez de Franco et d'Engleterre.
 Ou parlement tenu à Westmestre,
 Bion fut congneu et trouvé vray heir estre.

[TRANSLATION.]

Let it be remembered by all noble hearts—that here lies
 the flower of gentility,—the powerful duke of York, Richard
 was his name,—a royal prince, a gentleman of renown,—wise,
 valiant, virtuous in his life,—who loved well loyally with-
 out envy,—the right heir, proved in many a land,—of the
 crowns of France and England.—In the parliament held at
 Westminster—he was fully acknowledged and found to be

¹ From MS. Harl. No. 48, fol. 81, v^o.

Sy fut roygent et gouverneur de France,
 Normandie il garda d'encombrance,
 Sur Pontayso la ryvisre passa,
 Le roy Francoyez et son doulfyn chassa.
 En Erllande mist tel gouvernement,
 Tout le pais rygla paisiblement.
 D'Engleterre fut long temps prottetur,
 Le peuple ama, et fut leur deffendeur.
 Noble lygne ot d'enfans, que Dieu garde.
 Dont l'aysné fylz est nomé Edouardo,
 Qui est vray roy, et son droit conquesta,
 Par grant labour qu'il en prinst l'aqueta,
 Il est rognant solitaire ou jour d'uy,
 Dieu et ses sainz sy le gardent d'enuy !
 Ce noble duc à Wakefylde mourut,
 Doux paix traitant force sur luy courut,
 L'an soixnte, le xxx^e de Decembre,
 Cinquante ans ot d'age, comme on remembre,
 En priant Dieu et la tresbelle dame
 Qu'en Paradiz puist reposer son ame !

Amen.

Chester le II^e.

the right heir.—And he was regent and governor of France,
 —Normandy he guarded from danger,—he passed the river
 at Pontoise,—and drove away the French king and his
 dauphin.—In Ireland he established such government,—
 that he ruled all the country peaceably.—Of England he
 was long protector,—he loved the people, and was their
 defender.—He had a noble lineage of children, whom may
 God have in his keeping.—The eldest of whom is named
 Edward,—who is true king, and conquered his right,—he
 purchased it by great labour which he bestowed upon it,—
 he is reigning singly at the present day,—God and his saints
 preserve him from injury !—This noble duke died—at Wake-
 field,—while treating of sweet peace, force rushed upon him,
 —the year sixty, the thirtieth of Decembar,—he was fifty
 years of age, as people remember,—Praying God and the
 very fair lady—that his soul may repose in Paradise !—Amen.
 Chester the Herald.

ON THE CIVIL WARS.¹

*Processus sub brevibus in metro belli illius primi
quod actum erat apud villam Sancti Albani
temporibus regis Henrici sexti.*

Martia splendiferum regerent cum sidera lucem,
Aspicerentquo foros torvis aspectibus Anglos,
Albani villam tranquilla paco vigentem
Fœdarent multo violenter sanguine fuso.
Rex aderat præsens, secumquo cohors satis ingens
De dominis regni; contrarius his Eboraci
Duxquo duo comites Warwici et Sarisburiensis
Venerunt; media sit grandis pugna platon,
In qua corruerant qui nobilitate vigebant
De patria Boreo, comes insignis dominusquo,
Corruit ac ipse qui belli causa fuisse
Fortur, dux magnus de Somerset vocitatus,
Ac alii plures; satis aspera sors fuit ipsis.
Multi fugerunt, aliter se non properarunt
Quam faciunt tropidæ nixum fugiendo columbæ,
Insultumvo canis damus, lepus, aut fera quovis
Dum fugiunt, nemora petierunt sive frutecta;
In quibus, ut pueri virgam metuendo magistri,
Se pudet id ferro, vocorlitter occubueri.
Qui fuerant nostra propius penetralia tecta
Ad nos fugerunt, sub stallis et latuerunt,
Aut infra latebras; timor ingens duxerat ipsos.

¹ This piece, written by the well-known monk of St. Alban's, John de Whethamstede, was evidently composed immediately after the decisive and sanguinary battle of Towton, which is mentioned in it. The author seems to be chiefly

desirous of recording the ill-treatment which the abbey of St. Alban's received from the northern partizans of the house of Lancaster. It is printed from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. No. 697, fol. 29, r^o.

Sic imbecillis tergum dedit hostibus hostis,
 Non sine dedecore, nec nominis absque rubore.
 Mors est, non vita, sub turpi vivo fama.
 Et patet in paucis sors belli quæ fuit hujus,
 Qualis et eventus domini ducis et comitalus.

Ter dono trino domini regis fuit anno
 Florici sexti, facies hæc obvia cœli,
 In Maio mense bis dena bis quoque luce.

*Providentia Dei misericordis mediatione martyris
 sui Albani actum esse credimus, ut rex ad
 villam cum accideret diverteret se a monasterio
 ad ad villæ medium properaret, unde quia tam
 tanta tam gratuita quæ fuerant mediatione sui
 martyris in salvationem suæ ecclesiæ miseri-
 cordia domini plasmatoris, ideo in laudem et
 gloriam utriusque scribitur ulterius de hac
 materia metricæ sub his verbis.*

Dum Maius madidi flos floruit imbribus Austri,
 Mollibus et Zephyrus refoveret flatibus arvos,
 Flora voluit riguos herbis ditaverat hortos,
 Post glacies inopes hos fecerat et locuplotes,
 Sic rapidis Stilbon prædonibus undique regnum
 Repleratquo nimis, sic lato sparserat ipsos,
 Ut villam tandem tantus pervaderet istam
 Illorum numerus, ut vix evaderet unus
 Quin spoliū lueret, spoliantes vel trepidaret.
 Accidit ex causa spoliatio tam gravis ista;
 Mars cœli dominus fuerat tunc, et soror ejus
 In terris domina belli Bollona vocata,
 Unde malum multum signanter partibus istis
 Contigit, et bellum fuit istis grando peractum,
 Sanguis et offusus multus, dux et jugulatus
 Illius pugnæ qui fertur causa fuisse.
 Bello finito, strepitu quoque pacificato,
 Indultum est prædæ, prædones quippe fuere

Victores omnes, nulli quasi compatiētes.
 Tunc rex, tunc procures, tunc villani quoque plures,
 Ac alii varii, fuerant rebus spoliati.
 Attamen ecclesia simul ecclesiæ bona cuncta,
 Infra quæ fuerant sub clausuraque jacebant,
 Manserunt salva, nec ei res defuit ulla.
 Laus igitur Domino, laus in specieque patrono,
 Cujus per media stabant sua singula salva,
 Salvus et a cunctis simul abbas, frater, et omnes.
 Spiritus ille bonus sino fallo, spiritus almus,
 Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
 Illius ad medium, nec tunc permiserat ipsum
 Ecclesiam potero, conservavit sua quæquo.
 Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediarat,
 A raptore locumquo suum servavit, et omnem
 Ipsius ornatum, fœdari nec tulit ipsum.
 Si rex intrasset, secumquo ducem sociasset,
 Valvas ecclesiæ, paruisent cuncta rapinæ,
 Nec poterat furias quisquā composcere plebis.
 Laus igitur Domino rursus rursusquo patrono !
 Stat locus isto suo salvus munimine solo,
 Salvaque supposita, ■■■ salvaque prædia cuncta.
 Tempore dilapso miracula plura patrono
 Concessum facere fuit, utique ab omnipotente
 Laude celebrandum pro cunctis creditur unum,
 Quod dum prædator stabat pro tempore liber,
 Et raperet varia, bene servavit sua cuncta,
 Flere nec ecclesiam rem raptam portulit ullam.

Nota de bello apud Wacfeld habito.

Anno milleno centum quater, x. quoque seno,
 Terdenoque die duodeno mense Decembre,
 Infra Eboracensem juxta Wacfeld comitatum,
 Dux dominus villæ fortur pugnans habuisse
 Conflictum grandem contra gentem borealem
 Ac procures plures præerant qui gentibus ipsis ;

Quo docuit quia sors quod res fortuna secundas
 Vitat habere moras, cecidit dux, natus et ejus,
 Ac comes insignis, sors belli sors fuit ipsa
 Obvia, sicque satis regni fuerat brevis harca,
 Omen et id lætum tulerat mutamine mæstum,
 Deplendum multis; jus regni jus fuit ejus.

*Processus belli illius sive praelii secundi sub metrico
 stylo, quod inter Australes et Boreales commis-
 sum fuerat infra et extra villam Sancti Albani.*

M. semel x. seno centum quator et simul uno,
 Cum lux septena fuerat mensis quoque plena,
 Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,
 Inter Solares pugnantes et Boreales
 Magna cohors cecidit, duo milia plebs numeravit,
 Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi
 Et pugnae campum cæsis dedit et tumultum,
 Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisque dolabit
 Villæ ac monachis prope eos habitator et omnis.
 Principio pugnae potiores Marte fuere
 Australes, tandem vicit Boreasque triumphum
 Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum
 Martis, ut eventum fore scires sic dubiosum.
 Ut veniunt cinifes, culices, brucique, locustæ,
 Ac vastant segetes, alio muscæ quoque multæ,
 Sic advenerunt similes illis Boreales
 Ac vastaverunt segetes et opes populares
 Austri totius; his iudex sit Radamantus,
 Et Minos Cretæ conjunctus ois Æacusque,
 Atque modum poenæ pensent seu demeruerint.
 Vix infernalis pro poena sufficit ipsis
 Aut focus aut furor, licet essent agmine mille.
 Gens est Cerberæ, gens Sphingæ, gens Briaræ,
 Latratu, raptu, spoli prædæque voratu,
 Laus hæc, laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laude,

*Nunc quia de viris Borealibus sit saepe et scepius
mentio in præmissis, ideo de eorum moribus et
conditionibus scribitur hic ulterius metricè sub
his verbis.*

Qui mores plebis agnoscere vis borealis,
Perlege, pango metra, tibi dicent nil nisi vera.
Gens Boreæ, gens Tisiphonæ, gens alta Megæræ,
Gens lactata Stygo, potataque plebs Acheronte,
Sævit in Australes, stimularet seu furor omnes,
Non vigor attrahere victus, non visus moveret,
Est furor aut furia quicquid gens egerit ista
Gens Boreæ, gens Cerberæ linguæque loquæ,
Latrat et elatrat et verba rudissima tractat.
Proditor est quisque vir nobilis ejus in ore,
Presbyter et monachus, puer et vir, sexus et omnis,
Fœminæ sive probri quod possit vilius edi,
Semper ut inficiat vir vilis vilia tracta.
Gens Boreæ gens proluvia fœdissima de se
Harpyiis similis violando vasa liquoris,
Ac mensas hominum, tabulatas ac mulierum.
Fœdior est fatu, his turpior est moderatu,
Nescit honesta loqui vir fœdæ progeniei.
Gens Boreæ gens perfidiæ, gens prompta rapinæ,
Gens est centimano raptu similis Briaræ,
Et Tityo jecore, Sisypho saxoque ruente;
Et licet ulterius societur Tantalus istis,
Non portat metrum, mos est his peior eorum,
Diripiunt, rapiunt, post se vix saxa relinquit
Gens Boreæ, gens nequitia, gens absque pietate,
Et sine lege veris vindex, sine judice juris.
Decisor quia vi vult cuncta regi gladioli,
Moreve barbarico, licitum foret in spoliando,
Ut fierent propriæ per raptum res alienæ.
Friguit aut caluit nimis id quod tollere nollit.
Gens Boreæ, gens vipereæ pellis generisque,

Mordet et omordet, rodit, corrodit, et urget
 Matris ad interitum, malo sicut tendat ad ortum.
 Devorat ad patriam quæ sæpe cibaverat ipsum,
 Per matrisque modum dederat sibi lae ad odendum,
 Et linguae stimulo noceat caudæque veneno
 Australi populo sibi res et opes rapiendo,
 Austiterat præda raptrix Boreasque rapina.
 Hinc gens, gens ista quia fertur tam vitiosa,
 Quod mihi, si centum linguae sint ora quo contum,
 Ferrea vox, et item vix singula dicere possem.
 Hanc cantaream sibi quæsovit propriandam,
 Extinctis cereis sonituque nolequo libellis,
 Et pro perpetuo maledicta sit Arctos ab Austro.

*Processus sub brevibus sub forma et modo quibus
 comes Marchia, filius et haeres domini ducis
 Eboraci interfecti, audita fama de morte sui
 patris, non associatus sibi non pauci multitudine
 plebis, ad partes Boreales secessit contra proceres
 et alios rebelles pugnatueros, ideo scribitur hic
 ulterius sub breviliquio stylo metrico sub his
 verbis.*

X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
 Postquam successit rex junis jurevo rexit
 Anglorum regnum, vis non jus rexerat ipsum;
 Jam nova progenies quia caelo venit ab alto.
 Saturni soboles qui nomine dicitur alto,
 Edwardus quartus, Ricardo sanguino junctus,
 Creditur a multis redient Saturnia nostris
 Temporibus secla; lis, visque, nefas simul una
 Deperient; jura, lex, et pax sint reditura;
 Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
 Raptus avaritiae subeunt verumquo fidesque.
 Haec spes plebis orat, cleri chorus haecquo putabat
 Det seu speratur regnum Deus ut statuatur,
 Et plebs tranquillo vivat clorusque quieto.

*Deinde de tempore illius belli quò domiti stabant
Boreales, et prædomiti, pro excessibus patratis
in patria australi, ulterius metricè sic scribens
inquit.*

M. semel x. terno centum quaterni simul uno,
In Martis mense ter dena denique luce,
In patria Borcæ Ferebrius prope jugera villæ
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis et satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcos in bello martius heros
Junior Edwardus, Hector novus, alter Achille,
Prostravit multos; Austro tunc cessat Arcos,
Et doluit casum supra x. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini, plures et orant genorosi.
Illius patriæ flos et sors tunc cecidero,
Et merito, quoniam spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor, sit gloria Christo!
Cessat nunc flatus grandis Boræque boatus,
Inquo Austrum rediit, Æolus ventum variavit.
Est Boreas mordens et valde ventus adurens;
Est Auster justus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Et male mordentem vero vires tollere eidem;
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suavis frater et ejus;
Hinc Boræque Aquilo pro tunc clauduntur in antro.

*Quia in præmissis sit mentio de titulis utriusque
jam dicti regis, ideo in recensionem et recitationis
recordationem scribitur hic ulterius de utrisque
metricè sub horum verborum tenore.*

In sibi conjunctis Edwardi semino natis
Ortus erat primo Lionellus, Johannesque secundo;
Cedat lex regni vult junior ut seniori.
Attamen Henricus hæres genitusque Johannis,
Per vim sceptrigorum regimen tuleratque coronam,
Et tenuit multis sed non sine viribus annis.

Illi successit rex, qui si non caruisset
Justitiæ titulo, non Hector dignior ipso,
Non iudex Æacus, non ore politus Ulixes.
Ipso defuncto successit filius, in quo
Stirps ea cessavit; hæres rectus removit;
Scilicet Edwardus Leonelli proximus hæres.
Hic petiit regimen, rex obstat datque negamen.
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli
Et palmam tulerat, Henricus rex fugiebat.
Bello finito, multo quoque sanguine fuso,
Cum victor secum palmam ferretque triumphum,
Vendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudabat eidem,
Clamabatque sibi, vivat felicior omni
Rogo vel Augusto, melior regat Octaviano.
Hæc vox cunctorum clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solioquo levatus,
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Jureque quo potuit vim pressit, jus renovavit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres,
Stare diuque nequit mala quicquid vis stabilivit;
Jus nescitque mori, valeat licet ense ferire;
Ilex bene patralis bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis oquo rotabilis axis,
Sorte novercante fatoque modum variante,
Corruit Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat,
Defecitque bonus, heus! pro moderamine sensus,
Proque bono campi cor defuit Herculis illi.
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius excors,
Matrem nec coluit, nimis a patre degeneravit,
Quo melior miles non Teneas erat vel Atrides,
Sive timor Phrygiis Ajax robustus in armis.
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,
Atlamen in factis nimis vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta novem rex præfuit annis,
Cæca suam fortuna rotam, quasi fortis in armis,

Volverat, et regimen rapiebat regis, eundem
 Compulit ac subito sic dicere, "sum sine regno."
 O sors prosperior, o gratia sorteque major,
 Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
 Sed mittendus erat, jam danto Deo veniebat.
 Hic Martis soboles et nomine martius horos,
 Marte triumphante jus sceptri jusque coronæ
 Ut decuit sumpsit, ut debuit ac sibi junxit.
 Tunc bona spes fuerat sors prospera quod reveniret,
 Lætaque pro voto coleret plebs secla sub ipso.
 Det Deus ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat!
 Qui veteres recolis veteranaque gesta revolvīs,
 Ferreque scis si vis thoro quis fuit ac pater ejus,
 Dic si legisti, legisseve te meministi,
 Quenquam decrepitum qui cesserat opilionem,
 Et steterat multis absens in partibus annis,
 Rursus gestantem baculum baculoque regentem
 Conventum pecorum concordī voce legentum.
 Res hæc rata satis, nec contingens retroactis
 Temporibus multis, nostris tamen accidit annis.
 In patre qui sextus fuit ordine primo Johannis,
 Sed post octavus bis præfuerat quia dictus,
 Hoc duplex nomen sibi vindicat unus et idem;
 Deque loco segetis pater est cognomine dictus,
 Hæc nunc in decado numerus qui dicitur esse,
 In qua totius residet perfectio legis,
 Scriba suo calamo pausam finemque libello
 Imposuit fessus, senio morboque repressus,
 Cæcutiens steterat, auditus deficiebat,
 Contractique manus digiti fuerant simul omnes,
 Semper et ad valvas stabat mors improba pulsans;
 Dixit et ecclesiæ, dispone tuo, moriere.
 Hæc igitur causa scriptor nihil addidit ultra;
 Addere nec poterat, quia visus deficiebat,
 Idem scribendi sibi finis eratque videndi.

Explicit, expliciunt quælibet scripta ferunt.

A POLITICAL RETROSPECT.¹

To have in mynde calling to remembraunce
 The gret wrongys doon of oold antiquité,
 Unrightful heyres by wrong alyancco
 Usurpyng this royaume caused gret adversité;
 Kyng Richard the secounde, high of dignytee,
 Whiche of Ingeland was rightful enheritoure,
 In whos tyme ther was habundaunce with plentee
 Of welthe and orthely joye, without langoure.

Than cam Henry of Derby, by force and myght,
 And undir the colour of fals perjury,
 He toke this rightwys kyng, Golder trow knyght,
 And hym in prison put perpetuolly,
 Pyned to dethe, alas! ful pyteuxly;
 Holy bisshop Scrope, the blyssed confessor,
 In that quarel toke hys dethe ful paciently,
 That alle the world spak of that gret langoure.

Whos dethe ys a very trow evidence
 To alle Ingeland for the just tittle and lye,
 Whiche for the trowthe by tyranny and violence
 Was put doune and suspect holde venyryne;
 Many a trow lord then put to mortel syne;
 Alway they have ben aboute withe rigoure
 The lynaige of kyng Richard to undirmyne,
 That longe have lyved in gret langoure.

¹ This poem, which appears to have been composed in 1462 or 1463, is preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 101, fol. 98, r^o.

God, smote the said Henry, for hys gret fersnesse,
 With a lepre holdyng hym to hys ende^l synally.
 Next hym Henry the fyfte, of knyghtly prowesse,
 Named the best of that lynne and progeny,
 How be it he regned unrightfully,
 3it he upheld in Ingeland the honnour;
 Henry hys sone of Wy[n]desore, by gret foly,
 Alle hathe retourned unto huge langoure.

Callyng to mynde the fals ongendred treson
 And myschycfz that were in hys dayes regnyng;
 The good duc of Gloucestre, in the season
 Of the parlement at Bury beyng,
 Was put to deth; and ay sith gret mornyng
 Hathe ben in Ingeland, with many a scharp schoure,
 Falshode, myschycf, secret synne upholdyng,
 Whiche hathe caused in Engeland endleze langoure.

Noo mervail though Engeland hathe ben unhappy,
 Whiche hathe be mysrewled 3orys sortayne; ■
 Scripture saithe heritago holdyn wrongfully
 Schal never cheve no with the thred heyre remayne,
 As hathe be verified lato ful playne,
 Where as iij. kynges have regned by orroure,
 The thred put ouzte, and the right brought agayne,
 Whos absence hathe caused endleze langoure.

Also scripture saithe, woo be to that regyon
 Where ys a kyng unwyse or innocent;
 Moreovyr it ys right a gret abusyon, ■
 A woman of a land to be a regent,
 Qwene Margreto I mene, that ever hathe ment
 To governe alle Engeland with myght and poure,
 And to^l destroye the ryght lynne was here ontent,
 Wherfore sche hathe ■ fal, to here gret langoure.

And now sche no rought, so that sche myght attayne,
Though alle Engeland were brought to confusyon,
Sche and here wykked affynit6 certayne
Entendo uttyrly to destroye thys regioun;
For with theym ys but dothe and distruccioun,
Robberye and vengeaunce, with alle rygour,
Therefore alle that holde of that oppynioun,
God sende hem a schort ende with meeche langour.

O it ys gretly agayne kynde and naturo,
An Englyshe man to corruppe hys owne nacioun,
Willyng straungiers for to recure,
And in Engeland to have the domynacioun,
Wenyng thanne to be gret of reputacioun;
For sothe they that soo hope, least schal be theyre
pour;
He that wold be high schal be undir subjecioun,
And the fyrst that schal repente the langoure.

Wherfore I lykken Engeland to a gardayne,
Whiche that hath ben overgrowen many yere
Withe wodys, whiche must be mowen doune playne,
And than schal the pleasant swete herbes appere.
Wherfore alle trewe Englyshe people, pray yn fere
For kyng Edward of Rouen, oure comfortoure,
That he kepe justice and make wedis clere,
Avoydyng the blak cloudys of langoure.

A gret signe it ys that God lovyth the knyght,
For alle thoo that wold have destroyed hym utterly,
Alle they ar myschyeved and put to flyght.
Than remembre hys fortune with chevalry.
Whiche at Northampton gale the victory,
And at Mortimers Crosse he had the honour;
On Palme Sunday he wan the palme of glorye,
And put hys enemyes to endelez langour.

And drave hys adversary ouzt of the lande;
 Aftyr cam to Londun and was crowned kyng.
 Ryght late God gaf hym graco to undirstonde
 The fals traytours agayne hym ymagynyng.
 The prophecie saith, there schal dere hym noo thingo,
 He it ys that schal wynne castelle, toun, and toure;
 Alle rebellyous undyr ho schal hom bryngo,
 Willyng to hys highenesse any langoure.

Richard the orl of Warwyk, of knyghthode
 Lodesterre, borne of a stok that ovyr schal be
 trewe,
 Havyng the name of prowes and manhooode,
 Hathe ay ben redy to helpe and rosskewe
 Kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endowe;
 The commons therto have redy every houre;
 The voyx of the peuplo, the voix of Jhesu,
 Who kepe and preserve hym from alle langoure.

Now blyssed saint George, pray the viergo immaculat
 To be good mediatrix, praying her sonne
 That Edward of Rouen may be victorieux and fortunat,
 Withe alle the trew lordes of hys regioun,
 That they may se a good way and directioun
 To make peas in Engeland, that riche and pouer
 May joyfully synge at the conclusyon,
 Welcom everlastyng joye, and farewell langoure.

ON THE RECOVERY OF THE THRONE BY EDWARD IV.¹

Remembyr with reuerens the Maker of mankynde,
 How myzty, how mercyfulle, how glorius he is,
 Alle erthly creaturus in thayre reasonys byn blynde,
 Whan they compar with his power thay do alle
 amys.

Agaynste his power no thyng impossible is;
 Wherefore lett us say in wole and in woo
 Good Lorde, evermore thy wille be doo.

How marvelous to man, how dowtfulle to drede,
 How far past mannys resoun and mynde hath it
 beo,
 The comyng of kyng Edward, and his good spede,
 Owte of Docheolonde into Englonde over the salte see.
 In what parrell and trowbill, in what payne was
 heo!

Whan the salte water and tempest wrought hym
 gret woo;
 But in adversite and over, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

His knyghtehode, his power, his ordinance, his ryzte,
 Agaynst this trowblis tempest awaylid hym no
 thyng.

What may manhode do agaynst Goddes myzte?
 The wynde, the water spareth nolyr priynce no kyng.
 Haply that trowbill was for wickyd lyvyng;
 God wolde every creature his Maker shulde know,
 Wherefore, good Lorde, ever more thy wille be doo.

¹ From MS. Reg. 17 D. xv. fol. 327. r^o.

Lordo, the unkyndnes was shewid to kyngo Edward
that day !

At his londyng in Holdyrnes he had grett payne ;
His subjectes and people wolde not hym oboy,
Off hym and his people thay had grett disdayne.
There schewid hym unkyndnes, and answerid hym
playne,

As for kyng he shulde not londe thero for wole ne woo ;
Yett londid that gentill prynee, the will of God was soo.

To Yorko this nobille prynee and his popull did passe,
Magré his ennyes, no man hym lett myzte ;
At wiche cite trowbelid the ryalle prynee was,
Yett into the cite he enterid be Goddes power and
myzte ;

And whan the popull of his persone had a verroy syzte,
Thayre malice was quenched, wore they never so woo.
Wherefore, good Lordo, ever more thy wille be doo.

That shortly to ride that nobill prynee was redy,
By Pomfrett castell he paste, his ennyes not with-
standyng.

Marques Mountigow of that passage was verroy hovy,
Wyth the prynee he durste not mete, but ther lay
the mornyng ;

His tresoun in his mynde before done was remiying,
Supposyng that kyng Edward remembryd it also.
Wherefore, good Lordo, ever more thy wille be doo.

At Covyntre that gentill prynee was trowblid mer-
velously,

Wyth the scourge of God thus betyn was heo.
Mete, dryncke, and logyng his populle lackyd certaynly,
Yett he pight his felde in placis thre,
To fyght with Warwicke and all his meny.
But he was affrayed, and his people also.
In every thyng, Lord, thy wille be doo.

O gloriſ God, how thou haſte aſſigned
Hertes diſceveryd to be ſtabliſſhyd ayone,
In love of matremonye thou haſte hem joynyd,
Kyng Edward and the duke of Clarence grete
honour to attayne.

They were dyſceveryd by a ſottell meane;
Nature hath compellid hem agayne togore go;
Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

At Warwicke the knot was knytt agayne,
Unknowyng to many a man in this londe;
God ſent his graco by a ſovereyne meane,
Yett the populle ben blynde, they will not under-
ſtonde.

Stryve not with the peopull, ne the workys of his
honde,
And thoneke hym hertely it plesith hym ſo to do;
And lett us ſay, "Good Lorde, over thy wille be doo."

Longe lay the kyng there, away wolde not hee,
Dayly he prophored batayle, his onmys churſt not
fyghte;
Laacke of logyng and vitayle, it was grete poſe,
Cauſid the gentill prynee to remove, ſuche was Goddes
myſte.

Lowe how the good Lorde his owne gentill knyghte,
Because he ſhulde remembir hym in wele and in woo.
Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

As the prynee paſſid to Londone, God ſhewid ryghte
Secrett thyng to hym, tokyn of victory;
In preſence of the ſame prynee, by Goddes powere
and myſte,

And ymage wiche was cloſid brake opyn ſodenly.
God ſheid hym this comforte in the abbey of
Deyntre,

Because he shulde be stidfast in wole and in woo;
 The ymage was of saynte Anne, God wolde it shulde
 be so.

The gentill priynce and his pepull to Londone did passe,
 Into the cité he enterid with a company of men trew.
 For the wiche his enmys cryed, "Owte and alas!"
 Thayre red colowrus chaungid to pale hewe.
 Than the nobill pryynce began werkys new.
 Ho toke prisoners a kyng and a cloike, loo,
 How the will of God in every thyng is doo.

To Westmynster the kyng be water did glide,
 Worshypfully resayvid with processoun in ffect,
 Resayvid with reverence, his dewte not denyo;
 The cardenall uppone his hede the crowne did sett,
 The septure in his honde, withowte intrumpeoun or
 lett.
 Then to seynt Edwardes shryne the priynce did goo,
 Thus in every thyng the wille of God is doo.

The kyng comfortid the quene, and other ladyes eke;
 His swete babis full tendurly he did kys;
 The yonge priynce he behelde, and in his armys did bere.
 Thus his bale turnyd hym to blis;
 Aftur sorow joy, the course of the worlde is.
 The sizte of his babis relesid parte of his woo;
 Thus the wille of God in every thyng is doo.

How sodenly that tyme he was compellid to parte
 To the felde of Barnet with his enmys to fyghte.
 God lett never pryynce be so hevy in his herte
 As kynge Edward was all that hole nyzte.
 And aftur that shone a ster over his hede full
 bryzte,
 The syght of the wiche made his enmys woo;
 It was a tokyn of victory, Goddis will was soo.

This prynee it perceyvid, and he let it passe and goo,
That was to Cryst his creature he did calle,
To oure lady and to saynt George, and other seyntes
moo ;

Then sodenly uppone his knes the prynee did falle,
Besechyng the good Lorde and his seyntes allo
His ryght hym to sende, and defende hym of his foo,
And said ever, "Good Lorde, thy wille be doo."

Thow knowyst my ryzte, Lorde, and other men also ;
As it is my ryzte, Lorde, so thou me defende,
And the quarell that is wronge it may be overthrow,
And to ryght parte the victory thou sende,
And I promesse the, good Lorde, my lyffe to amende,
I knolege me a synner wrappid in woo.
And all said with one voyse, "Lorde, thy will be
doo"

His meditacioun thus made, his herte hovy,
Yet his hede he up lyfte with a mery chere,
And said, "Frendis, to this journey it is tyme we hye ;
" Latt us all call to Cryst and his seyntes in fore,
" As he uppone a crosse bought us ayght dere.
" I knolege me a synner wrappid in woo ;
" In this adversite evir, Lorde, thy wille be doo."

"Avaunce, baner," quod the kyng, "passe forthe anone,
" In the name of the Trinyté and oure Lady
bryghte,
" Seynt Edward, seynt Anne, and swete seynt Johan,
" And in the name of seynt Gorge, oure ladi
" knyhte,
" This day shew thy grett power and thy gret
" myhte,
" And brynge thy trew subiectes owte of payne and
" woo ;
" And as thy wille is, Lorde, thys journey be doo."

There was shotyng of gonnys and arows plenté;
 There was showtyng and crying that the orth did
 quake;

There was hewyng of haines, peté was to see;
 For fere of that fray many man did shake.
 There was tremelyng and turnyng thayre woo did
 wake.

There was hewyng of helmettes and salettes also;
 Hit plesid God that seasoun it shulde be soo.

There was jollyng, ther was rennyng for the sove-
 reynté,

There was roiyng and rumbelynge, peté to hore;
 Fayne was the waykyer away for to flee.

That day many a stowte man was ded there;
 Warwicke and Mowntegew were slayne in fere,
 Knyztes and gentilmen and other men moo.
 In all thynges, good Lorde, every thy wille be doo.

There was rydyng and rennyng; sum cryed, "Wayle-
 " away!"

Unknowyng to many man who the better haddo.
 Sum souzte thayre maysters, sum hit thaym that day,
 Sum ran here and there like mon that were madde;
 Sum were ryght hevy and harde bestadde,
 Ryght besy in thayre wittes away to goo.
 Alle was for the best, oure Lorde wold it shulde be so.

Kynge Edward and his brothere, dowtyng no fore,
 Lordis and other gentilmen in the kynges ryzte,
 Stidfastyly and worshypfully thayre parte did there,
 Manly and freshely that day did thay fyzte.
 To kynge Edwarde fille the victorie, throw Goddes
 myzte.

Many one whan thay wist thay were ryzte woo.
 Hit bootid hem not to stryve, the wille of God was
 soo.

To London com the kyng whan the batell was doo,
 Levyng behynde hym many ■ dode man;
 Sum hurte, sum slayne, sum cryinge "Alas!"
 Gretter multitude than I con telle.
 Sum waloyng in blood, sum pale, sum wan.
 Sum sekyng thayre frendis in care and in woo.
 In every thyng, Lord, thy wille be doo.

In Sothwerke, at Bambere heth, and Kyngston oke,
 The bastarde and his meané in the contré abowte,
 Many grett men in London they made soke,
 Man, wyff, ne childe there durst non rowte.
 Oxen, shepe, and vetayle, withowtyn any dowte,
 Thay stole away and carrid ever to and froo.
 God suffirs moche thyng, his wille to be doo.

Muche sorow and shame the wrecchis thay wroughte,
 Fayre placis thay brend on the water side.
 Thayre myschovus dedis awaylid hem noughte,
 Schamfully thay wroughte, and so thaym betyd.
 Thay wolde not love ther malice, but therin abyde,
 Thay cryed kyng Edward and Warwicke also.
 Thus the wille of God in every thyng is doo.

At Londone brygge thay made asawte, sham to see,
 The utter gate on the brygge thay sett on fyre;
 Into Londone shott arows withowte peté.
 With gunnus thay were bett that sum lay in the
 myre.
 Thay askyd wage of the brygge, thay paid them
 thayre hire.
 Ever amonge thay had the wors, then wakynd thayre
 woo.
 False men most be poyneshyd, the will of God is so.

At Londone brige anodyr sawte thay made agayno,
 Wyth gunpowdir and wildefire and straw oke;
 Fro the gate to the drawbrygge thay brent down playne,
 That x myle men myzte se the smoke.
 Thay were not of thayre entent the nero of a leke,
 For into the cité thay myzte not com for welo no
 for woo;
 God restid thayre malice, the wille of hym was soo.

At Algate thay sawtid in an ill season;
 Thay brente fayre howais, peté was to so.
 Thus these false men did opyne tresoun,
 Supposynge evermore to enture into cité.
 God and good seyntes thereof had pité.
 Thayre malice was sesid and turned hem to woo.
 Thus in every thyngo, Lorde, thy will be doo.

The erle of Essex, and also the aldurmen,
 At Bysshopus gate togedder thay motte,
 And owte therat sewde like manly men.
 Thay bete hem down, no man myzte hem lett;
 Freshely on thayre enmyes that day did thay fyzte.
 Thayre false tresoun brouzte thoym in woo;
 Thus in every thyngo, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

The erle Revers, that gentill knyzte,
 Blessid be the tym that he borne was!
 By the power of God and his grett myzte,
 Thow his enmyes that day did he passe.
 The maryners were kellid, thay cryed "Alas!"
 Thayre false tresoun brouzte hem in woo,
 Thus in every thyngo, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

There aventurid the erle then into the hondo,
 Contravelde the welefaire of London that day;
 When the comens the skomfertour did understonde,

Thay senyd owte freshly, thay kepud none araye;
 Glad with the Kentyschmen thay were for to fraye.
 Thay were kyllid down, away thay myȝte not goo.
 Thus the wille of God is evermore doo.

God wolde the erle Revers there shulde be;
 He purchesid grett love of the comyns that season;
 Lovyngly the cetyzens and hee
 Pursuyd thayre enmyes, it was but reason,
 And kyllid the peple for thayre false tresoun,
 Or the chase were do, ee and moo.
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy will be do.

When the Kentyschmen herd of that fraye,
 Like maysterles men away thay wente,
 Erly in the mornyng, or it were day,
 Throw halkys and hegges resortid into Kent.
 Thay vanysshid away as thayre tayles had be bronte,
 Remembryng thayre false tresoun, in hertes woo.
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy will be doo.

O gloriūs God, what vexacioun was then
 To the quene and the lordis and other ladies eke,
 To the mayre, and the comens, and the aldurmen;
 Thay nedid no fere no sorow to sokene.
 Then aftur kyng Edward they cryed and did wepe;
 The lacke of his presence made the pepull woo.
 Thus the wille of God in every thyng is doo.

O that nobill prynce and emperour flourere,
 To sitt at Londone resorte he than;
 Nothur Alisaunder ne Artur, ne no conqueroure
 No better were acompenyd with nobill men.
 Like none of the rounde tabulle were beseyn,
 Ryally horsid and aparelde in the fere of thayre foo.
 Thus victoriously he come, Goddes wille was soo.

The duke of Glocetter, that nobill prynce,
 Yonge of age and victorius in batayle,
 To the honoure of Ectour that he myȝte comens,
 Grace hym folowith, fortune, and good spede.
 I suppose hes the same that clerkis of ȝede,
 Fortune hathe hym chosyn, and forthe wyth hym
 will goo,
 Her husbonde to be, the wille of God is soo.

In the kynges forwarde the prynce did ride,
 Withe nobill lordis of grett renowne;
 The erle of Penbroke, the lorde chamberlayne bo his
 side;
 Many other knyȝtes and yomen of the crowne;
 With tru[m]ppus and clarions thay rode to Londone.
 In the kynges forwarde were viij. m^l and moo.
 Thus in every thyng the wille of God is doo.

The lorde chambirlayne, that gentill knyȝte,
 Whiche failid his mayster nother in stourne no stoure;
 Off goodly men he had a faire myȝte,
 Wiche rode afore the kyng to his honoure.
 He hathe deservid thanke amonge other paramour,
 In Docheleunde, in Englonde, in wole and in woo;
 He hath beddyn with his kyng, the wille of God
 ■ soo.

Then the glorius prynce, victorius and ryalle,
 Kyng Edward the iiijth, I wille ye undyrstonde,
 Viij. aldermen of Londone, I wille ye undyrstonde,
 In the felde he dubbid thaym knyȝtes, and bade
 them up stonde,
 Fulle nobille and woishypfully with his honde.
 Wyth reverence and woishyp thay thanekyd hym also;
 He remembre thayre tiew hertes, God woldo soo.

The duke of Clarence, that honorabill knyghte,
 Can alowe the cite notabully.
 Hym to beholde it was a goodly syghte,
 He is an excellent prynce certaynly.
 He thonkyd the cetyse of thayre fidelite
 Done to the kyng, it plesid hym soo.
 Thus in every thyng the wille of God is doo.

Then to the gate the kyng did ride,
 His brethir and his lordis in ordre, a good sight to see.
 iij. m^l harnessid men the kyng did abide,
 And worshipfully resayvid hym into the cite.
 Cryste preserve the pepull, for his grett pete!
 xx m^l, I suppose, and many one moo,
 Welcomyd kyng Edward, the will of God was soo.

Throw the cite to Poulus thai did ride;
 He was resayvid with procession solemply;
 His brether and his lordis knelyng hym beside,
 Thayre offeryng thay made devoutly,
 Lovyng and thonkyng God of his victory.
 His brether and his lordis said the same also.
 Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

O quene Elizabeth, o blessid creature,
 O glorius God, what payne had scho?
 What langowr and angwiche did scho endure?
 When hir lorde and sovereyn was in adversite.
 To here of hir wepyng it was grett pete,
 When scho remembirde the kyng, scho was woo.
 Thus in every thyng the wille of God is doo.

Here aftir, good lady, in youre felicity,
 Remembir olde trowblis and thynges paste,
 And thynke that Cryste hym selfe is hee
 That is kyng of kynges, and ever shall laste.
 Knytt it in youre herte suerly and faste,
 And thynke he hath delyveryd you owte of woo;
 Hertly thynke hym, hit plesith hym to doo.

And ever, good lady, for the love of Jhesu,
 And his blessid modir in any wise,
 Remembir suche personus as have be trowe,
 Helpe every man to have justice.
 And thes that wille othir maner maters device,
 Thay love not the kyng, I dar say soo,
 Besechyng ever God that his wille be doo.

Explicit the balet off the kyng.

ON ENGLAND'S COMMERCIAL POLICY.¹

*Anglia, propter tuas naves et lanas, omnia regna te
 salutare deberent.*

Goo forth, lybell, and mekly schew thy face
 Afore my lordes, with humble countonaunce,
 And pray theym all to take the to grace,
 In appoyssaylle and in cheryschyng the to avuunce.

Ffor thow mayst expertly be provyd by prudence,
 Among alle discrete men havyng sapyence,
 Ffor oone of the best that may be thought
 Ffor the welth of Ynglond, yf it be well sowthe.

Ffor ther ys no rome in no maner degrec,
 Butt they have nede to cure Englysshe commodyté;
 And the cawse theroff I wylle to yow expresse,
 The wiche ys soth as the gospelle of the masse.

¹ This poem was written to enforce the principles as those contained in the larger tract of an earlier date, the Label of English Policy, of which it is partly a sort of abstract adapted to the time.

It is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne, No. 796, fol. 2, v^o, of about the reign of Edward IV., at which period it appears to have been composed.

Ther ys noothir pope, emperowre, nor kyng,
Bysschop, cardynal, or any man levyng,
Of what condicion or what maner degree,
Duryng theyre levyng thei must have thynges iij.

Mele, drynk, and cloth, to every mannes sustynance,
They leng alle iij., withowt varyaunce.
Ffor who so lackyth any of thyse iij. thynges,
Be the popys or emperowrs, or soo royall kynges,

Yt may not stonde with theym in any prosperyté;
Ffor who so lackythe any of thyse, he suffiyl
adversyté;
Wilys this ys soth be yowre wyttes dyscerne,
Of alle the remes in the worlde this beryth the
lanteine.

Ffor of everyche of thyse iij. by Goddes ordynance,
Wee have sufficyenly unto oure sustynance,
And with the supplusage of oone of thyse iij. thynges,
We myzgth rowle and governo alle crystyn kynges.

And paynymys also we myzthe mak theym ful lano,
Ffor the cause we take no hed we be mykylle to
blame;
For of alle the popylle that be lyvyng on grounde
To praye and to please God we be most bownde.

Ffor thow thei have met, drynke, in every kyngges
londe,
Yet they lacke clothe, as y undyrstonde;
And for to determyn that the trouthe ys soo,
Lestyn wel to me, and ye moste acord therto.

Ffor the marchautes commo oure wollys for to byc,
Or elles the cloth that is made theroff sykyrly,
Oute of dyverse londes fer byyond the see,
To have thyse merchaundyss into theyr contré.

From Artyse, Pekardy, Henaude, and Normandy,
 Brelayne, Fraunso, Petowe, and Barry,
 Gasscoyne, Gyon, and also Aragon,
 Portyngale, Spayne, and Naverun.

Castyle, Cesylo, Coleyn, and Swethyn,
 Pruse-londe, Florence, Vonyse, and Jene,
 Melane, Catelony, and alle Ytally,
 Bewme, Hungry, Greke, and gret Turkey.

And many moo londes that I can not novene,
 But y dar sey alle that be unthor hovyne,
 Bothe crystyn [and] hethyn of alle maner doggoys,
 They have nedo to oure Englysshe commodityeis.

Therfor let not owre woole be sold for nowzto,
 Neyther oure clothe, for they must be sowth;
 And in espeealle restrayne strayttly the wool,
 That the comyns of thys land may wyrke at the
 fulle

And yf any wooll be sowld of thys londe,
 Lete yt be of the worst both to fire and bonde,
 And noone other in [no] maner wyse,
 Efor many dyverse cawsys, as y can devyse.

Yf the woole be corse, the cloth is mykyll the worse,
 Yet into lytylle thei putt owte of pryse,
 As myche for gadyng, spynnyng, and wevyng,
 Fullyng, rowyng, dyyng, and scheryng.

And yet when sucho clothe ys alle ywrowte,
 To the maker it waylyth lytylle or nowztle,
 The pryce ys sympylle, the cost ys never the lesse,
 They that wyrkkyd socho wooll in wytte be lyke an
 asse.

The costes into lytyll tiewly at the fulle
 Ys as myche as yt were maad of the fyne woll,
 Yet a 3erde of that oon ys worth v. of that other;
 Bettyr can not I seye, thow yt were to my brother.

Take hed to my lessoun that y have schewyd here,
 Ffor yt ys necessary to every clothyer,
 And the most pievayle to theym that may be fownde,
 Yf they wylle take hede therto and yt undyrstonde.

A ordynaunce wolde be maad for the poore porayle,
 That in thyse dayes have but lytyll avayle,
 That is to sey for spynners, carders, wevers also,
 Ffor toukers, dyers, and schermyn thereto.

For in thyse dayes ther is a hewsauce,
 That puttyth the pore pepylle to grett hyndoraunce,
 By a strange mene that is late in londe
 Bygun and usyd as y undyrstonde

By merchaundes and cloth-makers, for Godys sake
 take kepe,
 The wyche makyth the poreylle to morne and wepe;
 Lytyll thei take for theyre labur, yet halff ys mer-
 chaundyse;
 Alas! for rewthe, yt ys gret pyló.

That they take for vjd, yt ys deie ynow of iij.,
 And thus thei be defrawd in every contré,
 The pore have the labur, the ryche the wynnyng;
 This acordythe nowzte, it is a hevy parlyng.

Butt to voyde fraude, and sett egallyté,
 That syche wyrfolk be payd in good moné,
 Ffrom this tyme forthe by sufficyent ordynaunce
 That the poreylle no more be putte to suche gre-
 vance.

For and ye knew the sorow and hevyness
 Of the pore pepyll levyng in dystress,
 How thei be oppressyd in alle maner of thyng,
 In yevyng theym to myche weythe into the spynnyng.

Ffor ix^h I wene they schalle take xij.,
 This is very trewthe, as y know my selff;
 Theyre wages be batyd, theyre weyte ys encreasyd,
 Thus the spynners and carders awaylys be alle seasyd.

Yt were profytabyll also and exspedyent for oure
 kyng,
 And a gret awawntage of myche wynnnyng,
 And a gret enscheiychyng to alle the comynalté,
 That dwelle abowte ther that the mynys be,

The wyche have hyt in usage
 To myne in the erthe to gete theyre sustynaunce,
 Ther myght be had x. tymys more wynnnyng
 Than ys now adayces with good governyng.

For and ther were a myntte ordeynyd ny thorby,
 And a ordynaunce maad therto sykyrly,
 That alle the sylver, whan yt fynyd were,
 Thether schold be broztthe and yconyd thero.

And mony to be caryyd into another place,
 But oonly to be coynyd in a schort space,
 Wherby that the wyrkfolk myghte trewly be payd,
 Then I dar sey yt wold not be denayyd,

But ayenst oon man then schuld ye have x.,
 For the good payment of the wyrkmen;
 And the moe peopyll that wyrk in the mynys,
 The more sylver schuld be had up at alle tymys.

And thus the kyng schold be enrychyd for his parte,
 More than he is now, I dare playfully joparte,
 After the rate of theyre gret wynnynge,
 The wiche schold be to hym a profytable thyng.

And thus this lond may be enrychyd ageyne,
 The kyng, the lordes, and alle maner of men,
 Knyghtis, squyers, and alle the comynalte,
 They may playnly voyd alle poverté.

And so to contynow owtt of hevyness,
 Fro penowry and nede, and to be put owtt of dystress;
 And for to cawse owre enmyss be this ordynaunce
 To seke love and pese withowtt varyaunce

And ffulle fayne that they may be subyet to this lond,
 Yf we kepe the woollys straitly owtt of theyre hond;
 For by the endraperying theroff they have theyre
 sustynaunce,
 And thus owre enmys be supportyd to owre gret
 hynderaunce.

And therfor, for the love of God in trinitye,
 Conceyve welle these matours, and scheryshe the
 comynalte,
 That theyre pover levynge synfulle and adversyte
 May be altratyd unto welth, rychess, and prosperyte.

Here endythe the boke of Ynglysshe polysye,
 That may cause alle the worlde yt to obeye;
 Ther may no man denye but that it ys sothe,
 For every man must have met, drynk, and clothe.

THE END.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF MEDIEVAL LATIN
WORDS.

VOL. II.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF MEDIEVAL LATIN WORDS.

A.

accidia, i. 175 ; sloth, listless melancholy.
 acroma, i. 118, for *acroama* ; a concert of music.
 adamas, i. 286 ; the diamond.
 adunare, i. 259 ; to unite, to bring together in one.
 affugere, i. 87 ; to fly from, to escape.
 aldimannus, i. 284 ; an alderman.
 allo, i. 88.
 alpha theos, i. 120.
 ambasciator, i. 441 ; an ambassador.
 amodo, i. 104 ; henceforth.
 ancillare, i. 227 ; to bring into subjection.
 anigerulus, i. 285 ; an error for *avigerulus* ; a dealer in birds.
 antos, i. 48.
 applaudare, ii. 265 ; to applaud.
 areta, ii. 157 ; the straits, between Dover and Calais.
 arrestasio, i. 148 ; an arrest.
 argumentare, i. 260 ; to argue, to dispute.
 armiger, i. 138 ; an esquire.
 ars, i. 284, 287, &c. ; a trade, a trading corporation.

artifex, i. 287 ; an artizan, a member of a guild or company.
 apothecarius, i. 284, a dealer in drugs, an apothecary.
 applicare, i. 160 ; to apply one thing to another.
 assise, i. 194 ; the assizes.

B.

baga, i. 185 ; a ring, a jewel.
 balearea, ii. 150 ; shots from an arbalest or military machine.
 balouris, ii. 150 ; an arbalest, or other military machine for throwing missiles.
 ballivus, i. 141 ; a bailif.
 bannire, i. 135 ; to banish, to put under ban.
 bannitio, i. 136 ; ban, banishment.
 baro, i. 110, 196, ii. 3 ; a baron.
 baria, i. 294 ; a bar.
 barridus, i. 176, 177, 194, 196 ; strong, powerful, proud.
 barrus, i. 196 ; an elephant.
 bastardus, i. 108 ; a bastard.
 bipartitus, i. 287 ; party-coloured.
 bladum, i. 175 ; wheat, *blé*.

bombinare, i. 183, 184 ; crepitum edere.
 bombus, i. 184 ; crepitus ventris.
 brucus, i. 44 ; ■ sort of locust which devours the vegetation.
 bubo, i. 194 ; a camp-follower, a scamp.
 bumbardus, ii. 150 ; ■ gun, a cannon.
 burgensis, i. 166 ; ■ burgher, a burgess.
 buisiata, i. 285 ; ■ maker of purses.

C.

caballus, i. 288 ; a horse, *cheval*.
 calamizare, i. 192, 193 ; to sing joyfully.
 calippus, i. 27.
 camerarius, i. 461 ; a chamberlain.
 cancellarius, i. 228 ; ■ chancellor.
 candelarius, i. 285 ; a maker of candles.
 cantarea, ii. 268 ; a chantry.
 capellare, i. 227 ; to put a hat on.
 capitalis, i. 120 ; put to death.
 capito, i. 194 ; ■ fish, the gurnard.
 capitulum, i. 257 ; a chapter or meeting of the monks.
 capneium, i. 248 ; ■ capuce.
 carbunculus, i. 286 ; a carbuncle, the precious stone.
 catalla, i. 418 ; chattels.
 candare, ii. 128 ; to give a tail to.
 cerarius, i. 285 ; a maker of wax tapers.
 certificare, i. 105 ; to certify, to give information of.
 cervicalis, ii. 119 ; proud, overbearing.

ceses, i. 117.
 chekmat, i. 29 ; ■ term in the game of chess—checkmate.
 chronica, i. 862 ; a chronicle. This was the most common form of the word in medieval Latin.
 cirothecarius, i. 285 ; a glover.
 cissura, i. 205 ; for *scissura*.
 cistula, i. 293 ; a musical instrument.
 clepero, i. 203 ; to steal.
 cleptes, i. 201 ; a thief, a bandit.
 climat, i. 29 ; apparently a term in chess.
 clunagitare, i. 159, 160, 171 ; futuere.
 coir, i. 28.
 coliberti, i. 95, 121 ; the free companions, or freebooters, who, under Duguesclin and other chiefs, ravaged the provinces of France. It is an unusual sense of the word.
 collistrigium, i. 280 ; the pillory.
 comos, *passim* ; an owl.
 comitissa, i. 461 ; ■ countess.
 compotus, i. 33 ; an account, reckoning.
 conjectuari, i. 124 ; to conjecture, to divine.
 consi, ii. 253 ; perhaps for *conscit*, but the line appears to be corrupt.
 conventiculum, i. 299 ; a conventicle, an assembly in secret.
 connare, i. 29 ; to collect, to amass.
 crustum, i. 190 ; a crust of bread.
 cullus, i. 176, for *culus*.
 curtus, i. 201, ii. 127 ; short.
 cy, l. 36.

D.

damus, ii. 258 ; for *dama*.
 dextrarius, i. 286, 288 ; ■ war-horse,
destrier.
 distractus, i. 134 ; drawn ; *distractus*
et suspensus, drawn and hanged.
 ducissa, i. 460 ; a duchess.
 duellum, i. 111 ; a single combat.
 duplare, i. 282 ; to double.
 dux, *passim* ; a duke.

E.

ethelinga, i. 98 ; a prince.
 exactivus, i. 39 ; exigent, one who
 exacts.
 exoillare, i. 159, 171 ; manere cum
 uxore propria.

F.

fallare, ii. 250 ; to deceive.
 futare, i. 36 ; to be futed.
 favissor, i. 195 ; ■ favourer or main-
 tainer.
 feodum, i. 81 ; homage.
 feriare, i. 95 ; apparently for *ferire*,
 to strike.
 finis, i. 188 ; a fine.
 fret, i. 29 ; apparently ■ term in
 the game of chess.
 fortunium, i. 30 ; fortune ; *fortunia*
dura, misfortunes.
 furire, i. 118 ; to be mad with rage.

G.

garcio, i. 227 ; a lad, a camp-fol-
 lower ?
 gardianus, i. 237 ; the guardian.
 gaudiosus, i. 192, 212 ; full of joy.
 generosus, i. 125 ; *vir generosus*, a
 gentleman, an esquire.
 genulos, i. 120.
 girfaleo, i. 45 ; a large species of
 falcon, ■ gersfalcon.
 gith, i. 101 ; ■ plant, the corn-
 cockle.
 glabio, i. 173, 174 ; a beardless
 man.
 glomerare, i. 285 ; to assemble in a
 cluster round anything.
 gluto, i. 116, 118 ; a glutton, a loose
 follow, ■ ribald.
 griseus, i. 256 ; grey.
 guerra, *passim* ; war.

H.

hogge, i. 35 ; a sort of ship, perhaps
 the same word as the modern *hoy*.

I.

igris, i. 33.
 immo, i. 99, &c. ; the usual mediæ-
 val form of *imo*.
 impetuensis, i. 204, 205 ; impetu-
 im-
 improperare, i. 177 ; to reproach, to
 abuse.

improperium, i. 177 ; reproach, abuse, insult.
ingratitude, i. 230 ; ingratitude.
ingrediens, ii. 173 ; ■ ingrediens (in medicine).
insubjicibilis, ii. 165 ; insubmissive, ungovernable.
intrusor, i. 114 ; a usurper.

J.

jocari, i. 444 ; to rejoice, to be glad and joyful.
jubilus, i. 40, 258 ; ■ joyful shout.
junctor, i. 285 ; a joiner (the trade).
justitia, i. 172 ; ■ just claim, or right.

K.

koghe, i. 85 ; a sort of ship, usually interpreted a cock-boat.

L.

laboritium, i. 259 ; properly, agricultural labour.
lapides, i. 160 ; testiculi.
latrones, i. 116 ; the free companies.
ligures, i. 116 ; ribalds, camp-followers, plunderers.
lista, i. 192 ; the border or list, in cloth.

livarot, i. 29 ; apparently an old term in the game of chess.
lorinarius, i. 285 ; more correctly *lormarius*, ■ maker of horses' bits.

M.

magistrari, i. 258 ; to take the degree of master of arts.
maloya, i. 27 ; an Anglo-Norman word, signifying uncomfortable.
maligni, i. 436 ; the malignants, a term applied to the court party in the reign of Richard II. It reminds us of the term as used by the puritans at a later period.
mannus, i. 169 ; a horse, a palfrey.
marclia, i. 156 ; a mark (the coin).
marescallus, i. 106 ; a marshal.
mediola, i. 247.
megarus, i. 194 ; a maokarol.
memoramen, ii. 129 ; a memorial, a record.
mendicantes, i. 255 ; the mendicant friars.
metrista, ii. 150 ; ■ versifier.
millus, i. 194, 196 ; for *mullus*, ■ mullet (the fish).
minores, i. 256 ; the minorites, or friars minores.
ministrallus, i. 148 ; ■ minstrel.
miseria, ii. 114 ; a misery.
missa, i. 114 ; the service of the mass.
monacordium, i. 293 ; ■ musical instrument with one string, more usually written *monochordum*.
monacornus, i. 294 ; a unicorn.
mortificare, i. 95 ; to kill.
morus, i. 194 ; ■ haddock (the fish).

moys, i. 180, 182; water.
multare, i. 184; for *multare*.
multo, i. 126, 162, &c.; a sheep,
mouton.

N.

nabulum, i. 298; ■ musical instrument.
nobile, i. 189, ii. 159; a noble, the name of a coin struck first in the 18th Ed. III.
notus, i. 94; for *notus*, a bastard.
novalia, i. 286; some sort of tax exacted by the church.
novercare, ii. 265; to play the step-mother, to treat with cruelty.

O.

obstringillis, i. 176, 177; it appears by the context to mean obstructed, but according to Ducange *obstringilli* was a word signifying a sort of loose shoes.
opponere, i. 124; to subscribe.
otiva, i. 226.

P.

palafridus, i. 169, palefridus, i. 289; a palfrey.
pancratintus, i. 161; punished, tormented.
pandoxator, i. 285; a brewer.
pares, i. 57; the peers.
pellicia, i. 256; ■ fur cloak, or mantle.

penna, i. 346; ■ pen.
phy, i. 27; an exclamation of disgust.
pilatus, i. 260; wearing ■ hat, the mark of an academic degree.
pir, i. 180, 182; fire.
pirata, i. 194; a robber on the sea.
pirgus, i. 28; a way, a road.
pisticus, i. 80; pure, unadulterated.
plagare, i. 109; to wound.
pomilio, i. 285; a fruiterer.
pos cy pos cy, i. 36.
possessionatus, i. 255; endowed, having possessions.
pour est ny, i. 86.
præminencia, ii. 115; prerogative or privilege.
pretendere, i. 124; to assert, to declare.
propiare, i. 288; to approach.
propriare, ii. 263; to appropriate.
provisores, i. 280; provisioners?
pugnalen, i. 56.

Q.

quietare, i. 124; to satisfy.
quietatio, i. 160; inactivity.

R.

rato, i. 43, 162; a rat.
recepta, ii. 173; a receipt.
rectores, i. 250; ecclesiastical dignitaries.
reserare, i. 125, 126; to interpret, reveal.
resoratio, i. 127; an interpretation.

rosum, i. 118; for *roseum*, red.
 rumbus, i. 194; a kind of fish, the sturgeon.
 rumphea, i. 37, 39; ■ javelin, a dart.

S.

saligia, i. 173; a factitious word, explained in the text.
 scacci, i. 46; the game of chess.
 scannum, i. 183, 186; for *scannum*.
 scortum, i. 140; in *scortis*, in fornication; *scorta*, fornication.
 scutifer, i. 138; ■ knight.
 scutum, i. 137, 139; ■ coin, called in English a noble, in French an *écu*.
 secta, i. 285; ■ suit, uniformity of dress, livery.
 seduus, i. 183, 185; one who lisps, and cannot pronounce the letter ■ properly.
 senescallus, i. 106; ■ seneschal, or steward.
 seon, i. 29.
 shopa, i. 254; ■ shop.
 siba, i. 48.
 singlaris, i. 28, 33; ■ wild boar, *sanglier*.
 situla, i. 293; a musical instrument.
 sotilaris, i. 233; a shoe.
 spata, i. 119; ■ sword, *épée*.
 statutum, i. 273; ■ statute.
 staurum, i. 30, 47, 137, &c.; provisions of all kind, stores.
 strata, i. 288; a street.
 streparius, i. 285; ■ maker of stirrups.

subarratus, i. 102; engaged, bound by duty?
 summare, i. 117; to count, reckon.
 suffragia, i. 257; suffragios, explained in the text.
 supponere, i. 126; to be put in the place of something, to represent.
 supponere, i. 171, 172; to support.
 supponere, i. 248; to suppose.
 supponere, i. 160; future.

T.

tantomodo, i. 259; to such ■ degree.
 taxa, i. 143; a tax.
 taxare, i. 143; to levy a tax.
 tenerare, i. 27; to occupy by violence, to usurp.
 temptare, i. 132; the mediæval form of *tentare*, to attempt.
 tenementum, i. 191; landed property.
 terminare, i. 140; to decide.
 terminus, i. 125, 127; a term, or appellation.
 tiro, tyro, i. 110, 115; a youth not yet experienced in military affairs.
 tractatus, i. 450; treated.
 tractatus, ii. 129; a treaty.
 treuga, i. 37, 39; *et passim*; used generally in the plural, *treugæ*; ■ truce.
 triphones, i. 48.
 trulla, i. 184; *capitus ventris*.
 turmosus, i. 174; belonging to the mob, or to the lower classes.

U.

unus, *passim*; used for the indefinite article *a*, Fr. *un*.

V.

vindicare, ii. 265; to claim; *vindicare sibi*, i. 188.

venerinus, i. 102; adulterine; *fratres venerini*, illegitimate brothers.

vespilio, i. 194; ■ thief, a robber.

veteratus, i. 206; antiquated.

vicarii, i. 280; vicars, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word.

viella, i. 293; a fiddle, a violin.

villagium, i. 241; a village.

villanus, i. 140; a villain, a rustic.

vincops, ii. 150.

Y.

ymas, i. 44.

ymon, i. 228.

ypotarus, i. 194; a kind of fish; perhaps for *ypotamus*, which is found in the medieval glossaries in the sense of a sea-horse.

Z.

zelotopatus, i. 204; struck with jealousy.

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GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF OBSOLETE  
ENGLISH WORDS.  
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GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

[As the letters *i* and *y* are so continually interchanged in English words of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been thought better to class them together in the following Glossary, except in particular cases where *y* only is correct, and where it commences a word. *G* and *z* are also classed together.]

A.

a, ii. 48 ; on ; *leyen hem a water*, put them on water, or, as we should say, to sea, *i.e.*, overthrow them.
a, i. 70 ; at, *a half eb*, at half ebb.
abate, i. 76 ; to reduce, put down.
abateth, i. 408 ; lowers, diminishes.
abated, ii. 14 ; diminished.
abeere, ii. 229 ; to their bier.
abide, ii. 281 ; to wait for.
abyde, ii. 191 ; to endure, to suffer.
abidyng, ii. 245 ; dwelling place.
abit, ii. 12 ; remains, endures.
abite, ii. 67 ; ■ habit.
aby, ii. 244 ; to be punished for, to pay for.
a-cold, i. 305 ; cold.
achieved, ii. 5, 7 ; obtained, succeeded.
acombrede, i. 38, 415, 416 ; encumbered, confused.
accountid, i. 399 ; reckoned, put to account.
acresith, ii. 105 ; increaseth.
acustomaunce, ii. 242 ; habit, custom.

adoun, i. 378 ; down.
adrad, ii. 6 ; in fear, in alarm.
afese, ii. 51 ; to onfeof, to give in feof.
afferme, ii. 6 ; to strengthen, to consolidate.
afforse, i. 413 ; by force, by necessity.
affraye, ii. 181 ; fright, alarm.
afore, ii. 241 ; before.
afraie, i. 329 ; to frighten.
agadred, i. 344 ; assembled.
against, i. 318 ; contrary to.
azonward, ii. 66 ; back.
agilto, i. 348 ; to offend against.
agoo, i. 404 ; gone.
agrieved, i. 313 ; angered, displeased.
agrise, i. 314, 329 ; to be terrified.
nie, i. 330 ; an egg.
aiello, ii. 138 ; ■ ancestor.
ailed, i. 85 ; perhaps used in the ■ of diseased. *Ailed unsele*, in a bad or unfortunate condition of health.
aken, ii. 11 ; ache.
alblast, i. 69 ; an arbalest, or crossbow.

- aleo, i. 416; to the leo-ward.
 algato, ii. 11; nevertheless.
 alie, i. 392; ■ ally.
 allet, ii. 65; of all, *plural*.
 als, i. 60; also.
 almesso, i. 319; alms.
 nlowo, ii. 281; to approve.
 als, *passim*; as.
 als, i. 337; also.
 also, *passim*; as.
 alsone, i. 251; ■ soon as.
 altratyð, ii. 287; altered.
 alumnens, ii. 110; disciples.
 alweldand, i. 75; all ruling.
 amarride, i. 369; marred.
 ambassiatours, ii. 202; ambassadors.
 amenusith, ii. 105; diminishes.
 amorwe, i. 414; on the next day.
 amounteth, ii. 91; is, what it
 amounteth to.
 an, ii. 124; ■; *an hy*, on high.
 anorès, ii. 64; anachorites.
 ano, *passim*; one.
 anet, ii. 50; dill (the plant)
 anowe, i. 392; to renew, to make
 new.
 angerliche, i. 323; in anger.
 anhanse, ii. 239; be raised up.
 annuels, i. 267; payment for saying
 anniversary masses for the dead.
 annuellers, i. 80, 95; priests em-
 ployed to sing anniversary masses
 for the dead.
 apaid, ii. 28; *apaied*, ii. 31; satisfied.
 aparte, i. 316; openly.
 apechyng, ii. 46; impeaching, ac-
 cusing.
 apeire, i. 372, 384; to impair.
 apend, i. 323; belong.
 aperid, i. 377; decayed, failed.
 apertli, ii. 68; openly.
 apis, ii. 76; apo's.
 aplaco, ii. 5; into place; *is come*
 aplace, has taken the place of
 heathenism.
 appoysayllo, ii. 282; inquiry, ques-
 tion.
 appresse, ii. 167; contrivance.
 apprisist, ii. 113; settost value on.
 arie, i. 326; array, dress.
 are, i. 78; formerly, ore.
 are, ii. 186; the hare.
 arecho, i. 412; to reach, to attain.
 archebero, ii. 188; an archpirate.
 aredy, i. 387; ready.
 arero, i. 397; back.
 arosoneh, ii. 40; argues against.
 arith, i. 397; aright.
 arouutid, i. 408; driven away?
 arowe, ii. 146; on a row.
 arseworde, ii. 64; backwards.
 astate, ii. 137; estate.
 aschon, ii. 172; ashes.
 aschonno, i. 390; to avoid.
 asery, i. 67; to proclaim or cry, to
 report.
 askapid, ii. 156; escaped.
 aspie, ii. 58; a spy, a scout.
 assaute, ii. 195; assault.
 assay, ii. 196; trial, proof; *of beste*
 assay, of the best description; *at*
 assay, i. 216, when brought to
 trial; *of gode assayes*, ii. 186,
 proved to be good.
 asseye, ii. 41; inquire.
 assised, ii. 11; judged, regulated.
 assoillo, ii. 131; absolve, pardon;
 assoiled, ii. 32; absolved.
 assoiled, ii. 38, 118; answered or
 solved ■ question.
 astonye, ii. 51; to astonish, to con-
 found.

astonyed, i. 380 ; astounded, stunned, confounded.

atamed, i. 392 ; tamed, disciplined.

ataston, ii. 90 ; to taste.

ataunt, ii. 171 ; — much.

ateheved, ii. 5, 7 ; succeeded.

ate, ii. 6 ; at the.

atempre, ii. 139 ; temperate.

atrete, i. 217 ; distinctly, positively.

attemperance, atemperance, ii. 143, 241 ; moderation.

atwen, ii. 213 ; between.

auters, ii. 42 ; altars.

autorise, ii. 80 ; to allege authority for.

availe, ii. 140 ; to descend. to go down.

avayle, ii. 285 ; advantage, profit ; *avaylys*, 286 ; profits.

availed, ii. ; profited, with advantage.

avant, ii. 124 ; forward.

avaunt, ii. 156 ; a boast.

avys, avyse, i. 277, ii. 190 ; advice, council, deliberation.

avysemente, ii. 187 ; counsel, deliberation.

avisifenesse, ii. 200 ; good counsel.

avisy, ii. 137 ; advised, cautious.

avow, ii. 11 ; to vow, to take a vow.

avowries, ii. 35 ; patrons, protectors.

avutrie, ii. 247 ; adultery.

awgrym, i. 414 ; arithmetic.

awmeneer, ii. 220 ; an almoner.

awne, i. 331 ; own.

axe, i. 381 ; to ask.

axist, ii. 69 ; thou askest.

ay, i. 267 ; always.

ayenst, i. 325 ; against.

B.

bable, ii. 244 ; to talk childishly.

bablid, i. 395, 415 ; chattered.

baffyng, ii. 53 ; barking.

baightoth, i. 323 ; baited.

bakke, ii. 216, 218 ; a bat.

baldoly, i. 71 ; boldly.

bale, i. 58, 74, 75 ; evil, mischief, sorrow ; *to brewe bale*, to breed mischief.

baleys, ii. 176 ; a rod.

ballid, i. 415 ; bald.

ban, i. 83, ii. 244 ; curse.

band, i. 72, 73 ; a bond.

bar, i. 216 ; bore.

baratur, ii. 236 ; a contentious person.

bare, i. 74, 77 ; a boar.

bargenyng, ii. 77 ; contending.

bachelorde, i. 331 ; a long dagger.

basonet, ii. 125 ; a bassinet, or light helmet.

bastarde, ii. 160 ; a sort of wine brought from Spain, mentioned not unfrequently in old writers.

batail, i. 82 ; an army.

batailed, ii. 9 ; warred upon.

bated, i. 389 ; fluttered.

baterid, i. 388 ; battered.

batyd, ii. 286 ; abated, diminished.

battis, i. 409 ; bats, outgoes.

bawdriko, i. 331 ; the sword-belt.

bawlid, i. 380 ; abated?

bay, ii. 90 ; *bryngo thou til a bay*, bring you to bay (as in hunting).

bayed, i. 404 ; barked.

beawpores, ii. 229 ; companions.

beddyn, ii. 280 ; remained.

bede, ii. 103 ; a prayer.

- bede, i. 62 ; to proffer.
 bede, i. 71 ; to abide.
 bedred, ii. 22 ; bed-ridden.
 been, ii. 17 ; to be.
 beelsire, ii. 229 ; literally, fair lord.
 beerys, ii. 219 ; bears.
 behost, ii. 5 ; promise ; behests, ii. 145 ; promises.
 behote, i. 416 ; promised.
 behoten, ii. 38 ; they promise.
 behoveli, ii. 12 ; necessary.
 beytis, ii. 219 ; baits.
 beld, i. 75 ; protection, refuge.
 belde, i. 379 ; to protect, to bring help.
 beldid, ii. 77 ; built.
 beles, i. 381 ; left behind.
 belyffe, ii. 207 ; immediately.
 ben, i. 218 ; he.
 bende, i. 275 ; ■ band.
 bendes, i. 319 ; bonds.
 bene, ii. 179 ; we are.
 benyme, i. 372 ; to take from.
 benysoun, ii. 113 ; a blessing.
 benome, ii. 159 ; taken away.
 bent, ii. 127 ; a field, ■ plain.
 bent, ii. 125 ; indented.
 beo, i. 216 ; by.
 beo, i. 215 ; they are.
 beoth, i. 218 ; are.
 berde, i. 69 ; *kept hym in the berde*, a phrase which perhaps signifies to 'keep within' bounds. The Promptorium has the word *berde* in the sense of margin or brink.
 bere, i. 78 ; a blér.
 hero-bag, i. 62, 84 ; ■ bag carrier. An injurious word, applied to the Scots, who carried their provisions, consisting of oatmeal, in bags on their backs.
 berofte, ii. 179 ; taken from.
 bereved, i. 387 ; deprived of.
 bereward, i. 364 ; ■ bear-ward, or keeper of a bear.
 berkynne, ii. 169 ; beer, ale.
 berkynge, ii. 216 ; barking.
 berlingis, i. 396 ; young bears.
 berno, i. 378 ; man.
 beside, ii. 19 ; aside.
 besinnesse, ii. 203 ; activity, earnestness ; *with besinnesse*, busily.
 boste, i. 371 ; beast, i.e., my cattle.
 bestad, ii. 6 ; arranged.
 boto, ii. 125 ; to strike.
 bote, i. 62 ; to amend or relieve ; *bete their bale*, to bring them relief from misfortune.
 bote, i. 62 ; to walk up and down ; *boto fram*, ii. 94 ; to address themselves.
 botid, ii. 198 ; happened.
 botydyth, i. 384 ; it happens, it betides.
 bott, i. 226 ; beat.
 bou, i. 390 ; fine, handsome.
 bid, i. 58 ; ask.
 hidden, ii. 48 ; to pray.
 bide, i. 68, ii. 185 ; to remain, dwell.
 bydo, i. 216 ; to support, bear.
 bydo, ii. 126 ; prayed.
 bydone, i. 366 ; immediately ; *at hidene*, forthwith, at once.
 bye, ii. 160 ; to buy.
 bye, i. 269 ; to aby, to make amends for.
 bien, ii. 177 ; they buy.
 byfalle, i. 269 ; to befall ; *faire mot byfalle*, may they have good luck ; *foule mote him befall*, i. 304 ; may he have bad luck or fortune.
 biforn, i. 66 ; before.

- big, i. 80; to take up one's dwelling.
 big, i. 77; prepared.
 bigge, ii. 228; to build.
 biging, i. 62; a dwelling.
 bigly, ii. 57; strongly, boldly.
 byhesto, ii. 204; promise.
 biker, i. 71; to skirmish, to fight.
 byleve, i. 269; belief.
 bilevid, i. 64; remained.
 bylle, ii. 228; to write a bill against, to libel.
 bylle, i. 274; to bell.
 birde, i. 333; a girl, young woman.
 bysom, ii. 235; blind.
 bysyde, ii. 187; beside; to leave
bysyde, to abandon.
 bit, ii. 85; biddeth.
 bitake, ii. 114; give, abandon to, commit to.
 bithoght, i. 74; bethought.
 bitid, i. 61; befallen.
 blaunchid, ii. 50; blanched, whitened.
 blaw, i. 69; to blow.
 blo, i. 269; colour, hue.
 blent, i. 327; blinded.
 blere, ii. 172; to clear, to dim one's sight.
 blernyed, i. 389.
 bleuz, i. 217; blew.
 blyune, i. 266; blin, i. 72, 74; to cease, to desist.
 blith, i. 78; joyful.
 blythid, i. 396; made joyful, gave joy to.
 blonder, i. 268; bustle, disturbance.
 blwun, i. 225.
 bod, ii. 155; remained.
 bodden, ii. 23; bidden.
 boisteous, ii. 195; boistous, i. 307, 335; threatening, fearful, turbulent, rude.
 bokerame, ii. 171; buokram.
 boldid, i. 379; emboldened.
 bole, ii. 84; a bull.
 bolgit, ii. 155; bulged.
 bolle, ii. 140; a bull.
 bonde, i. 216; bonds, fetters.
 bondus, i. 225; bondsmen, serfs.
 bone, i. 68; petition, prayer.
 bone, i. 58; boon, a favour.
 bonet, i. 415; supplementary or additional sail in a ship, fastened with lacings to the feet of courses or lower sails, in moderate or fair winds, and the operation of applying it still termed *bending*.
 bonus, i. 277; bones.
 boote, ii. 145; remedy.
 bootid, ii. 276; availed, helped.
 bore, i. 72; a boar.
 borowe, i. 415; a borough.
 bozard, ii. 219; a buzzard, a kind of moth.
 bosse, i. 396.
 host, i. 218; to boast.
 bot, *passim*; but.
 bot, i. 62, &c.; without.
 bote, i. 68, 218, 364; remedy, help, compensation.
 bote, i. 65; a boat.
 boterasse, ii. 187; a buttress.
 botho, ii. 226; booth.
 botirflyes, ii. 219; butterflies.
 bougoth, ii. 161.
 boun, i. 90; ready, going to do anything.
 boun, i. 268; ready.
 bountevous, ii. 145; bountiful.
 boure, i. 81; hour, i. 265; chamber.
 bowen, ii. 154; ready.
 boxomnesse, ii. 44; obedience.
 boy, i. 272; a serving lad.

- boynard, i. 389; boynardis, i. 379; a low fellow.
- brade, i. 71; broad.
- brayd, i. 217; a stroke.
- braste, i. 396; burst.
- bredd, i. 387; a bird.
- bredder, i. 275; broader.
- brede, i. 369; breadth.
- bremð, i. 411; proud, haughty.
- bremme, i. 384, 387; proud, swag-
gering.
- bremli, ii. 52; fiercely.
- broms, i. 72; (or bronis) corslets.
- brone, i. 73, ii. 153; to burn.
- brout, i. 269; brente, ii. 278; burnt.
- brere, i. 78; a briar, bush. breia,
i. 395; briars.
- breso, ii. 54; gadflies.
- brist, i. 407; burst.
- bretylle, ii. 182; brittle.
- bribith, ii. 40; begs, robs. The
word is used in both senses.
- brid, i. 78; byd, i. 364; a bird.
- brid, i. 61; a lady, a bride.
- brig, i. 77; a bridge.
- brim, i. 71; sea, flood.
- brymme, ii. 109; store.
- brin, i. 64; burn.
- brodid, i. 387; spread.
- broylist, ii. 61; blingest up con-
fusedly, blundered.
- bromes, i. 391; brooms.
- brond, i. 396; a bond (?).
- bround, ii. 52; a firebrand.
- brounte, i. 380; brought.
- browet, i. 382; broth.
- brud, i. 71; beloved, must.
- brud, i. 85; made, compelled.
- brugee, i. 265; a sort of cloth.
- brustousnesse, ii. 99; boisterousness.
- burgase, i. 70; the bighers.
- burne, i. 400, 401; a man; burnes,
i. 379; men, fellows, barons.
- burnesse, i. 401; baronage, nobility.
- burnished, i. 395; smoothed (?).
- buthe, ii. 244; a birth, the act of
being born.
- buseido, ii. 98; the buzzard, a kind
of luge moth.
- busk, i. 62; to go rapidly. busked,
i. 395; hurried. buskys, ii. 287;
haste you.
- busche, i. 382; to but, to push, to hush.
- buschingo, i. 378; busking, pushing.
- buto, i. 58, 70; compensation (for
boto).
- byse, i. 265; a fine description of silk.
- by, *paestm*, for be.
- C.
- cacche, ii. 67; catch.
- cakked, ii. 170; uncovered.
- calkyn, ii. 61; to calculate.
- can, i. 269, ii. 181, know, knowen.
- can, i. 226; began. Used with a
verb to form a sort of imperfect
tense. *Can schowte*, they
shouted, or were shouting—like.
rally, they began to shout.
- canst, i. 334; knowest thou.
- cant, i. 78; brisk, courageous.
- cantly, i. 71; briskly, courageously.
- carecke, i. 320; figures, characters.
- careed, ii. 4; been in care, or trouble.
- carikkys, ii. 199; large ships.
- carko, i. 310; to care.
- carpo, i. 381; to talk, to converse.
- carpiat, ii. 68; talkest carpyngo,
ii. 198; talking.

- carpe, i. 414; talk, conversation.
 carreys, ii. 180; carracks, or large ships.
 carris, ii. 181; carts.
 casse, i. 364; case.
 cast, ii. 90; contrived, formed a design.
 castis, i. 396; contrivances, machinations.
 cataile, i. 81; goods.
 catel, i. 217; chattels.
 cauteile, i. 394; craft.
 cautell, ii. 82; stratagem, trick.
 corteyne, ii. 177; *to certeyne*, to a limit; *for a certeyn bi ȝere*, for so much a year.
 cesso, ii. 6; to cause to cease, to put a stop to.
 cetisonce, ii. 281; citizens.
 chaffare, ii. 160; merchandize.
 chaffren, i. 307; to barter.
 chafyr, ii. 110; to trade.
 chalongen, ii. 44; claim.
 challo, i. 249; shall.
 chapitlo, ii. 160; a chapter.
 chargeaunt, ii. 106; burthensome, onerous.
 chefare, ii. 180; merchandize.
 cheff, i. 402; cheff, ii. 201; head, chief.
 chokonye, i. 387; chickens.
 cholo, i. 387; cold.
 chepe, i. 247; to purchase.
 cherichen, i. 387; cherish.
 cherliche, i. 402; dearly.
 chese, i. 252; ches, ii. 5; to choose.
 chesse, i. 378; chose.
 chevalleris, i. 413; knights.
 cheye, ii. 268; to flourish, to succeed.
 chovith, ii. 132; bringeth to a successful issue, achieveth.
 chove-aunce, ii. 169; bargain, agreement.
 chevotan, i. 225; chieftain, captain.
 chevytoyns, i. 378; chieftains.
 chief, ii. 147; head.
 chiro, ii. 225; cheer.
 chytoryng, ii. 40; chattering.
 chowȝe, ii. 40; chough (the bird).
 christened, i. 306; a Christian.
 churliche, i. 335; clownish, churlish.
 clame, ii. 41; schism.
 clappid, i. 416; talked.
 claterers, i. 271; chattering.
 clatelist, ii. 60; chatterer.
 clatrid, ii. 76; talked loudly.
 claude, ii. 203; clothed, clad.
 cleete, i. 217; a piece of wood (?).
 clekkid, ii. 95.
 clome, i. 313; to claim.
 clope, ii. 82; call; cloped, i. 368, 395, called. clopest, ii. 148; called. clopen, i. 309; called. clopen, i. 325; they call.
 clip, i. 78; to embrace.
 cliper, i. 215, 252; slippery.
 clogge, ii. 222, 224, 282; a log of wood at the end of a chain or rope.
 cofren, i. 306; to put in coffers.
 coyffes, i. 409; coifs.
 coile, i. 402; choose (?).
 cokil, ii. 148; the weed in corn.
 colectis, ii. 88; collections.
 coleres, i. 275; collars.
 colys, i. 382; coals.
 colis, i. 413.
 coloure, ii. 185; pretence.
 combrance, ii. 65; trouble.

- combred, i. 377; confused. *
 combrouseli, ii. 104; troublesomely.
 come, i. 415; arrival, coming.
 comens, ii. 280; to commence.
 comyne, i. 416; the comunalty.
 comynliche, i. 378; commonly. *
 comliche, i. 413; in an elegant manner, comely.
 comonde, ii. 165; communed, conversed.
 comonté, ii. 178, 186; commonalty.
 comsith, i. 401; begins, commences, *comsid*, i. 413; began. *
 comynnes, i. 250; the commons.
 con, i. 250; can. *
 concludist, ii. 86; refutes. *
 confect, ii. 108; made, composed.
 conyes, ii. 186; rabbits. *
 conig, i. 82; a rabbit. *
 conno, ii. 4; are acquainted with.
 constory, ii. 236; the consistory court. *
 construen, ii. 243; interpret.
 constrwe, i. 378; to construe.
 bontyhaunce, i. 264, ii. 204; behaviour, appearance. *
 contrarie, ii. 62; to act contrary to.
 contravoldo, ii. 278; laboured with(?).
 cordoweyne, ii. 163; Spanish leather, brought from Cordova. *
 coroune, i. 86; a crown.
 coroun, ii. 67; the priest's tonsure.
 correete, ii. 173. *
 corette, i. 371; to correct.
 corruppe, ii. 269; to corrupt. *
 orsed, ii. 247; cursed. *
 rvyssers, ii. 109; shoemakers.
 ste, ii. 179. *
 stened, i. 400; cost. *
 ostes, ii. 184; expenses. *
 ostious, ii. 212; costily. *
 costis, i. 385, 390; regions.
 cot-armers, ii. 126; men in coat-armour.
 cotis, i. 401; coats.
 coude, i. 396; know.
 cougioun, i. 393; perhaps *congioun*, *
 * toward. *
 couztho, i. 371; knew how, could.
 countred, ii. 154; encountered.
 countenance, ii. 253; appearance, ostentation. *
 countours, i. 328; alchimoticians.
 couceers, ii. 212; highbred horses.
 covetise, ii. 78; covaitise, i. 84; covetousness.
 covent, i. 225; assemblage. *
 covent, i. 68; convent. coventis, ii. 64; convents.
 covetour, i. 306; a coverture.
 crallit, i. 308.
 crasid, i. 373, 377; crushed, broken.
 creanneo, i. 374; credil. *
 crepit, ii. 51; creeps. *
 cresselos, ii. 153, 218, cressels, frames at the ends of poles in which fires were lighted. *
 crest-clotho, ii. 164; a sort of fine linen.
 croys, i. 269; a cross. *
 croisery, i. 317. *
 crok, ii. 206; to bend. *
 crocketos, i. 312; locks of hair. *
 crokk, i. 382; a pot, a picher. *
 cropun, ii. 47; crept (?). *
 croucho, i. 332; a cross.
 croupers, ii. 252; cruppers.
 cuyndo, i. 251; kind, nature.
 culleth, i. 311, 321, 344; to cherish; to enforce.
 culoxum, i. 372, 415; the conclusion of a narrative. *

cumberd, i. 78; cumbred, i. 252;
troubled, encumbered, entangled.
cumen, i. 63; come.
cumly, i. 66; comely.
cunne, i. 218; can.
cure, ii. 199; care.
cure, ii. 206; service.
cure, ii. 187; remedy.
custumale, ii. 71; accustomed.
cutted, i. 332; jagged, alluding to
an extravagant fashion prevalent
in the reign of Richard II.

D.

dugges, i. 401; slips, shreds, the
cuts in the fashionable dress.
dale, i. 87.
dalliance, ii. 111; tittle-tattle.
dare, i. 259, 250; to stare, to be
terrified, to be scared.
dareand, i. 59; staring.
dased, i. 344; confused, dazzled.
daunger, ii. 191; lordship or do-
minion.
dawe, ii. 44; day, daylight.
dawe, i. 328; dawis, i. 377; days.
debres, ii. 236.
ded, i. 80; deed.
dēdde, i. 808; death.
dede, i. 74; death.
dede, ii. 189; dead.
dees, i. 374.
deyzedo, i. 218; died.
deyntis, i. 406; dainties.
del, i. 251; dele, i. 64; part, share.
dele, ii. 31; parts, *a thousand dele*,
a thousand times.

deleated, ii. 11; delayed.
delid, i. 79; dealt.
delith, ii. 110; distribute.
delle, i. 371; part, deal.
deme, ii. 57; to judge.
demene, ii. 229; to direct, or lead.
demor, i. 383; a judge, one who
demos.
demin, i. 319; they judge.
den, ii. 236; a dean.
denayyd, ii. 286; denied.
done, i. 73; a den, or habitation.
donyene, ii. 180; to deny.
dent, ii. 126; a blow.
departe, ii. 183; to share.
departysonn, ii. 217; a distribution,
a sharing.
dere, ii. 270; to injure.
dere, i. 78; dear.
dorei, ii. 250; confusion, noise,
disturbance.
dorid, i. 386; injured, hurt, harmed.
derklich, i. 394; obscurely.
dern, i. 59; cruel, severe.
derne, i. 375, 377; secret.
deroro, ii. 89; deador.
destric, ii. 47; to destroy.
detecfe, ii. 189; exposed, made
evident.
dever, ii. 73, 98; duty.
devorsité, ii. 241; change of for-
tune.
dowe, i. 394; duo, legitimate.
diagredle, ii. 178.
dight, i. 70; prepared, made ready.
dyght, i. 226; arranged.
dighte, i. 76; to prepare oneself;
dightoth, i. 333; arranges, pre-
pares.
digness, i. 398; worthiness.
diking, i. 335; making ditches.

- dilacioun, ii. 145; delay.
 dyme, i. 412; ■ tenth.
 dimuoir, i. 216; demure, quiet.
 dyne, ii. 180; to dye.
 dinoth, i. 394; gives to dinner, feeds.
 dint, i. 73; a blow; dyntes, ii. 126; blows.
 dirk, ii. 218; dark.
 disclaunde, i. 336; to slander.
 diseryve, i. 374; to describe.
 discured, ii. 174; discovered.
 disert, ii. 64; a desert.
 disperpiled, ii. 226; scattered.
 disseso, i. 383; uneasiness.
 dyssevable, ii. 173; deceptivo.
 distance, i. 83; distaunce, i. 339, ii. 254; debate or discord.
 dpo, ii. 31; dono.
 dokkist, ii. 27; curtailest.
 dole, i. 79, 80; in the latter instance it means sorrow, grief; in the former, perhaps, a portion, from A. S. *dolan*.
 lofyne, ii. 124; dolphyn, ii. 133; the dauphin of France.
 lolosité, ii. 111; deceit.
 dome, i. 309; judged, condemned.
 dome, i. 308; judgment; *at dome*, i. 327; in judgment.
 domes cart, i. 398; the executioner's cart.
 domes-day, i. 72; day of judgment.
 domp, i. 88; to plunge, to tumble.
 dongen, i. 77; struck.
 dongen, ii. 152; the keep or main tower of a castle; *dongoun*, ii. 211; where it is applied to the place in which Christ was born.
 oolis, ii. 220; doles, shares.
 oren, ii. 107; dare.
 doth, ii. 7; causeth, maketh.
 dotyn, ii. 188; dote.
 douzeth, i. 399; feureth.
 dout, i. 73; to fear.
 dout, i. 69, 324; fear, doubt.
 dowtes, i. 368; doubts.
 dowtfulle, ii. 271; fearful.
 drad, i. 213; dradde, i. 417; feared.
 drasse, ii. 84; dregs, refuse.
 draggee, ii. 72; a draught (?).
 drane, ii. 219; a drone.
 dray, i. 81; noise, tumult.
 draped, ii. 162; made into cloth.
 draperé, ii. 168; to make cloth.
 drave, ii. 270; drove.
 drawte, i. 403; draught, shot.
 dreco, i. 58; set right?
 dressen, i. 314; they prepare.
 drewris, i. 78; jewels, valuable things.
 dride, i. 374; dread, fear.
 drye, ii. 64; to suffer, to undergo.
 drive, i. 71; to go quickly.
 dromous, ii. 199; ships of war.
 droupe, i. 250; to droop.
 drouping, i. 344; drooping.
 drowze, i. 225; drow, dragged.
 drayze, i. 216; dry.
 dubby, ii. 57;
 dud, i. 225; did.
 dude, i. 361; did.
 dullfalle, ii. 206; grievous, doleful.
 dure, i. 215; to endure, last.
 eddor, i. 392; a snake, an adder.
 ecoche, ii. 133.
 ebris, i. 394; ears.
 este, ii. 179; again.

eftsoone, i. 322 ; soon again.
 egallyté, ii. 285 ; equality, fairness.
 egge, i. 306 ; to urge.
 eghen, i. 77 ; eyes.
 eyere, i. 388.
 eize, i. 250 ; eyes.
 eyelid, i. 382 ; giled.
 cyne, i. 387 ; eyes.
 eyre, ii. 195 ; air.
 cyren, i. 393 ; eggs.
 cyrer, i. 363 ; brood of swans.
 cyris, ii. 86 ; heirs (?).
 eirsyng, ii. 81 ;
 elde, i. 372 ; old age.
 elderne, i. 377 ; of the elders, of the
 men of old.
 elliche, i. 377 ; alike, equally.
 embassitours, ii. 210 ; ambassadors.
 enbataillid, ii. 57 ; formed in order
 of battle.
 encenson, ii. 14 ; to cense, to per-
 fume with or offer incense.
 eneres, ii. 9 ; increase.
 endauntid, i. 398 ; feared (?).
 endoly, ii. 201 ; final.
 endraperyng, ii. 287 ; making into
 cloth.
 enhaunsid, ii. 41 ; raised.
 enmyssse, ii. 182 ; enemies.
 enoight, ii. 12 ; anointed.
 enpechoost, ii. 82 ; accost.
 enplede, i. 326 ; to impale.
 enquere, ii. 208 ; to seek.
 ensample, ii. 6 ; an example.
 onscherychyng, ii. 286 ; cherishing.
 ensereche, ii. 293 ; to seek.
 onserchise, ii. 195 ; inquiry.
 onsiap, i. 322 ; quality (?).
 entendement, ii. 13 ; meaning.
 entent, i. 372, ii. 199 ; intention, de-
 sign.

entecomon, ii. 202 ; to hold inter-
 course, to intercommunicate.
 environ, ii. 157 ; round about
 corthe, i. 251 ; earth.
 er, i. 266 ; before.
 er, i. 59 ; are.
 eron, i. 364 ; eagle.
 erste, ii. 124 ; first, before, formerly.
 ert, i. 266, ii. 113 ; art.
 ertou, i. 78 ; art thou.
 es, *passim* ; is.
 ese, i. 382 ; case.
 eth, i. 71 ; easy.
 euforbe, ii. 173 ; a plant, spurge.
 evangoly, i. 306 ; the gospel.
 even, ii. 39 ; equal ; *her even Chris-*
 tian, their fellow Christian.
 evone, ii. 8 ; level ; *in evone*, on a
 firm footing ; *al in evone*, i. 11, all
 straight with one another.
 everich, ii. 6 ; every one, *everich on*
 live, everybody alive.
 everichone, ii. 137 ; every one.
 expounce, ii. 182 ; explain, expound.
 extente, ii. 193 ; stretched out, held
 forth.

F.

fade, ii. 7 ; sad.
 faght, i. 81 ; fought.
 fay, i. 215 ; faie, i. 330 ; faith.
 failed, i. 395 ; deserted, abandoned.
 failen, ii. 243 ; want.
 faim, i. 64 ; fayn, ii. 155 ; glad.
 faitours, i. 307 ; flatterers, deceivers.
 faldyng, ii. 186 ; a sort of rough
 cloth.
 fally, ii. 108 ; falsoly.

- fulnes, ii. 250 ; falsoness, deceit.
 fumed, i. 313 ; defamed.
 fumen, i. 74 ; foe-men.
 fund, i. 73 ; to try.
 fare, i. 59 ; to go ; *foule fare*, i. 25 ;
 to go ill, to misbehave, to fare
 foully ; 251, to be ruined.
 fare, i. 73 ; *frankis fare*, the distri-
 bution of your money (?).
 fare, i. 59 ; going, expedition.
 fare, i. 325 ; business, affair (?).
 fau3to, i. 386 ; fault, want.
 faukyn, i. 388 ; faweon, 389 ; a
 filcon.
 fawtis, i. 372 ; faults.
 feblen, i. 391 ; become feeble.
 fodered, ii. 125 ; feathered, i. 9 ;
 pierced with arrows, the feathers
 of which appeared without.
 feddrin, fedris, i. 388 ; feathers.
 feer, ii. 241 ; far ; *feor abowte*, far
 out of the way.
 foot, ii. 182 ; deed, shot.
 fot, i. 398 ; fotched.
 feyned, i. 269 ; feigned, pretended.
 feynt, ii. 152 ; to become weak.
 feldo, *passim* ; a field.
 foldo, ii. 165 ; felt.
 fole, i. 68 ; many.
 fell, i. 61, 70 ; cruel.
 fell, i. 77 ; to strike down.
 felle whare, i. 399 ; fel-ware, feltry,
 skins of wild animals.
 folle, i. 391 ; the skin. felles, ii.
 168 ; skins.
 felliche, i. 389 ; cruelly.
 felliest, ii. 17 ; most cruel.
 fende, i. 252 ; the fend, the devil.
 fendes, ii. 184 ; devils.
 feole, i. 250 ; many.
 fer, i. 269 ; far.
 fer, i. 71, 81 ; far, farther.
 fend, i. 68 ; afraid.
 ferde, i. 67 ; fear.
 ferde, i. 376 ; went.
 fero, i. 73 ; a companion, a fellow.
 fere, i. 310 ; company.
 fere, i. 77 ; to frighten.
 ferkyd, i. 396 ; hastened. *fferkyd*
hem fforth, they rushed forwards.
 ferly, ii. 252 ; strange.
 ferone, i. 68 ; fern.
 ferli, ii. 51 ; wonderfully.
 ferme, ii. 44 ; to strengthen.
 ferme, i. 313 ; farm.
 ferio, ii. 194 ; fear.
 ferrum, i. 77 ; *o ferrum*, afar.
 fer4, ii. 125 ; stereo.
 fersnesse, ii. 268 ; cruelty.
 ferthe, ii. 4, 56 ; fourth.
 festue, i. 269 ; to fasten.
 fete, ii. 196 ; fact.
 fete, ii. 248 ; feet.
 fetely, ii. 172 ; cleverly, neatly.
 fleul, ii. 82 ; flekle.
 fyght, ii. 252 ; *in fyght*, engaged in
 fighting, in strife (?).
 fle, i. 79, 81 ; a worthless fellow, a
 coward.
 flowyng, ii. 133 ; following.
 fyn, ii. 91 ; the end. *a fyn*, in the
 end.
 fyne, ii. 184 ; to conclude, to put
 an end to.
 fyne, ii. 132 ; end, result.
 fyne, ii. 187 ; to refine. *fynd*, ii.
 286 ; refined.
 finding, i. 327 ; board, living.
 fyndyth, i. 414 ; support, keep, pro-
 vide for.
 figro, ii. 112 ; of figs. *figra-tree*, ■
 fig-tree.

fyth, i. 364 ; to fight.
 flagrant, ii. 232 ; fragrant.
 flauré, ii. 250 ;
 fle, i. 394 ; to fly.
 fleand, i. 77 ; flying.
 fleen, i. 64 ; fly.
 flemed, ii. 40 ; flemid, i. 60 ; banished.
 flex, ii. 171 ; flax.
 flit, i. 88 ; to remove.
 floter, i. 389 ; to flutter.
 flour, i. 216 ; ii. 7 ; a flower.
 flusshe, i. 389 ; to hop as a bird.
 fode, i. 389 ; a child.
 fodid, i. 387 ; fodid, ii. 12 ; cherished, bred up, fostered, fed.
 fodith, i. 394 ; cherishes, feeds.
 fode, i. 386 ; food.
 fode, i. 74 ; a youth, a person.
 foyne, i. 399 ; a polecat.
 fold, i. 81 ; the earth, the world.
 folyn, ii. 188 ; go mad, or foolish.
 foltheod, i. 380 ; folly (?).
 folus, i. 225 ; fools.
 fomen, i. 218 ; foes.
 fond, ii. 230 ; a dilemma (?).
 fonde, i. 84 ; to endeavour, to attempt.
 fonde, i. 266 ; invented.
 fonde, ii. 252 ; found.
 fondement, ii. 243 ; foundation.
 fone, fune, i. 62 ; foes.
 fong, ii. 247 ; to take, embrace.
 fongen, i. 414 ; we take. fongoth, i. 888 ; they take.
 fbnnedli, ii. 97 ; foolishly.
 fennest, ii. 85 ; becomest foolish.
 foode, ii. 220 ; a young man, a fellow : foodis, i. 398 ; fodis, 405 ; youths.
 foole, i. 395 ; fowls.

foon, ii. 127 ; foes.
 forbode, i. 344 ; ■ forbidding.
 for-by, ii. 158 ; near, past.
 forekis, i. 379 ; the gallows.
 fordyd, i. 371 ; apparently an error for *fondid*, endeavoured.
 fordone, i. 322, ii. 39 ; destroyed, abolished, overthrown.
 fordoth, i. 398 ; undoeth, ruineth, destroyeth.
 foreyns, ii. 143 ; strangers, interlopers.
 forewille, ii. 200 ; foreknowledge.
 forfarene ; gone into exile.
 forgard, i. 344.
 forgone, i. 86 ; lost.
 forgrowe, i. 363 ; overgrown.
 forhele, ii. 45 ; conceal, or, perhaps, withhold.
 forjugid, ii. 79 ; judged to death.
 forlith, ii. 7 ; violates.
 forlorne, i. 365 ; lost, spoilt.
 forlore, ii. 241 ; ruined, lost in a moral sense.
 formed, i. 415 ; informed.
 formere, ii. 42 ; informer, teacher.
 formyng, ii. 42 ; informing, information.
 forsings, i. 331 ; ruins by singing, sings to ruin.
 forslokend, ii. 40 ; smothered, stifled.
 forswore, ii. 241 ; perjured.
 forthi, i. 77 ; therefore.
 forthinken, ii. 73 ; repent.
 forfluren, i. 336 ; to further, to promote.
 forward, i. 86 ; an engagement, promise.
 forwardo, ii. 280 ; the front or vanguard of an army.

forwoyned, i. 374 ; weaned badly, corrupted in the weaning.
 forwrithen, ii. 45 ; twisted, tortuous.
 foryote, i. 317, 325 ; forget.
 fosse, ii. 191 ; foss.
 fostrid, i. 387 ; fostered.
 foule, ii. 126 ; a fowl.
 foulén, i. 330 ; defoul.
 foulýd, i. 388 ; fowled, hunted birds.
 fundament, ii. 9 ; foundation.
 founded, i. 59 ; tried.
 fourmures, ii. 113 ; informers.
 fra ; from.
 fray, ii. 279 ; to fight.
 fraine, ii. 38 ; to interrogate.
 frankis, i. 73 ; francs, French money (?).
 fre, i. 67, 395 ; free, of gentle birth.
 freynoth, ii. 42 ; inquireth, questioneth.
 frek, i. 59, 68 ; enger.
 frele, ii. 247 ; frail.
 frely, i. 74 ; of gentle blood.
 frelle, i. 373 ; frail.
 frontike, ii. 85 ; frenetic, frantic.
 frors, i. 263 ; firms.
 froted, i. 387 ; out.
 frotyd, ii. 41.
 fryst, ii. 249 ; first.
 frith, i. 68, 389 ; a low wood.
 flage, ii. 198 ; flight.
 fnyre, i. 305 ; fire.
 fules, ii. 252 ; fools.
 fullesille, i. 370 ; to fill full.
 fulmard, ii. 220 ; ■ polerant.
 fumoso, ii. 162 ; smoky (?).
 fun, i. 83 ; found.
 funden, i. 81 ; found.

G. 3.

gabbe, i. 269 ; to jest, to make jest of.
 gabberys, ii. 237 ; jesters.
 gadring, i. 326 ; gathering.
 gaf, i. 69 ; gave.
 gaglide, i. 396 ; gagged.
 gayes, i. 385 ;
 gayne, ii. 207 ; kind, generous.
 galayo, i. 64 ; a galley.
 galiote, i. 65 ; a name of a particular sort of ship, a small galley.
 gale, i. 74 ; song, noise (?).
 gayned, i. 68 ; *gayned hym*, he got.
 galonttes, ii. 251 ; gallants.
 galpen, ii. 100 ; to yawn.
 galwys, ii. 239 ; the gallows.
 gardyng, ii. 281 ; carding (of wool).
 gardoun, ii. 112 ; reward.
 garmement, ii. 70 ; garment.
 garner, ii. 99 ; a store-room.
 gate, i. 267, way ; *so gates*, in that manner ; *went my gate*, i. 268, went my way, went away.
 gate, ii. 269 ; obtained.
 gate, ii. 146 ;
 gaudes, i. 61, 62 ; tricks.
 geete, i. 216 ; to get.
 gestes, ii. 178 ; gifts.
 geyn, ii. 213 ; against.
 gent, ii. 125 ; gentle, noble.
 gor, i. 76 ; to make, to cause.
 zerde, ii. 285 ; ■ yard.
 zere, i. 79 ;
 zerne, i. 267 ; earnestly.
 zers, i. 264 ; years.
 gert, i. 64 ; ceased.

gery, i. 398 ; changeable, giddy.

gest, i. 326 ; a guest ; gester, i. 90, guests.

got, i. 62, gain (?) ; *bot get*, may perhaps mean without any gain (by their treachery). Ritson explains it as "an interjection of contempt."

goven, ii. 67 ; to give.

gy, ii. 240 ; rule, guide.

gie, i. 406 ; gye, i. 370 ; to guide, to direct, to rule.

zyf, zif, *passim* ; if.

giggas, i. 326 ; loose women.

gild, ii. 244 ; beguiled.

gildyn, ii. 50 ; gilt.

gyle, i. 395 ; guile.

gylour, i. 374 ; a deceiver, a beguiler.

gyllorys, ii. 235 ; guilers.

gyn, i. 79 ; a trap.

gynne, ii. 141 ; begin.

gynning, ii. 143 ; beginning.

gioure, i. 370 ; giour, ii. 109 ; a ruler, leader, guide.

gyside, i. 399 ; disguised (?) .

ziste, i. 385 ;

zit, i. 79 ; yet.

gyuleris, i. 398 ; guilers.

glade, i. 71 ; to gladden.

glasen, ii. 100 ; made of glass.

glaterye, ii. 240 ; flattery (?) .

gle, i. 64, 68, ii. 239 ; game, mirth, gladness.

gledo, i. 344 ; a kite (the bird).

gledre, ii. 173.

glce, i. 406 ; joy, pleasure.

glose, ii. 40 ; flattery.

glosinge, i. 414 ; flattering.

god, ii. 152 ; goods, property.

goldede, ii. 227 ; possessed of gold, wealthy.

gome, i. 400, 401 ; a man ; gomes, i. 388 ; men.

gong, i. 307 ; gonge, ii. 72, ■ privy.

gonnes, ii. 198 ; gounys, 276 ;

gunnus, 277 ; guns, cannons.

gospelcor, ii. 211 ; the evangelist.

gost, i. 370, 373 ; spirit. goster, ii. 244 ; spirits.

gotefel, ii. 150 ; goat's hides.

governaille, i. 336 ; helm, rudder

zovun, ii. 98 ; given.

gowe, i. 48.

graas, i. 251 ; grace.

grayn, ii. 208 ; a scarlet dye ; *clothes in grayn*, scarlet cloth.

graythest, i. 76 ; readiest, quickest.

grame, i. 70 ; grief, harm.

grame, i. 370 ; to be angry.

gras, i. 252 ; grace.

greable, ii. 112 ; agreeable.

gree, i. 313 ; pleasure.

grees, ii. 140 ; degrees.

grey, ii. 171 ; badger skins or fur (?) .

grennes, i. 390 ; interpreted in the margin as meaning greyhounds.

grete, ii. 125 ; a cry.

grete, i. 90 ; to greet, to salute.

grette, i. 377 ; great.

groves, i. 388 ; griefs.

griff, ii. 227 ; grief.

gryse, i. 250 ; to be terrified.

gryse, i. 265 ; a species of cloth.

groche, i. 339 ; to grudge.

gromys, i. 272 ; grooms.

gromes, i. 377 ; men.

gronde, i. 87 ; ground ; *in the see gronde* ; at the bottom of the sea.

groote, ii. 219 ; ■ groat, fourpence.

grost, ii. 47 ;

grott, i. 370 ; ■ groat.
 grotus, i. 395 ; grouts.
 grucche, ii. 76 ; grudge.
 gruechen, i. 370 ; to grudge.
 grw, ii. 91 ; Greek.
 gult, ii. 244 ; guilt.

II.

habilements, ii. 196 ; accoutrements.
 haburjouns, ii. 54 ; breastplates.
 hacchen, i. 387 ; hatch.
 hay, i. 48 ;
 hait, ii. 249 ; has, possessors.
 hayme, i. 266 ; them.
 hairwede, ii. 230 ; harrowed, sacked.
 halde, i. 74 ; to hold or keep ■ promise.
 hale, ii. 169 ; to hawl.
 haloly, i. 69 ; wholly.
 hales, i. 403 ; tents.
 half-delle, i. 403 ; one half part.
 hulk, i. 318 ; a corner. hulkys, ii. 279 ; corners.
 halow, i. 311 ; bless, consecrate.
 halowed, ii. 50 ; consecrated.
 halowid, i. 403 ; halooed at, hooted.
 halteth, ii. 159 ; goes lamely, totters.
 ham, i. 266 ; them.
 han, i. 273 ; they have.
 hangulhooke, ii. 222 ; ■ hook for angling, a fish-hook.
 hansell, i. 416 ; the first use.
 happid, ii. 44 ; wrapped, covered.
 hatas, i. 392 ; ■ stud of colts.
 harborow, ii. 97 ; lodging.
 hardi, ii. 246 ; courageous, bold.
 harys, ii. 171 ; hares.

harlotte, i. 313 ; a scamp, a vagabond. It was a term applied properly to men. *harlotes*, ii. 89.
 harlotrie, ii. 99 ; ribaldry.
 hassellis, i. 381 ; hasels (?).
 hastyvyt6, ii. 242 ; rashness, hastiness.
 hat, i. 69 ; hate, i. 317 ; is called.
 hauntlere, i. 387 ; antlered, or superior deer.
 hautayn, i. 268 ; high, proud, haughty.
 hautosse, i. 391 ; highness.
 haved, i. 85 ; had.
 haves, i. 86 ; has.
 havour, ii. 226 ; wealth.
 hawys, ii. 191.
 hed, ii. 283 ; heed, care.
 heed, i. 386 ; head.
 heerdes, i. 313 ; herds, keepers.
 hogges, ii. 279 ; hedges.
 hegh, i. 269 ; high.
 heyer, i. 395 ;
 heyere, ii. 242 ; higher.
 heih, i. 216 ; heize, i. 218 ; high.
 heipeth, i. 393 ; lays (?).
 heire, ii. 20 ; to hire.
 heyres, ii. 267 ; heirs.
 heyres, i. 193 ; eggs.
 hele, i. 73, ii. 69 ; to cover, to conceal.
 hele, i. 372 ; health, prosperous condition.
 hole, i. 392, ii. 13 ; salvation.
 holys, i. 275 ; heels.
 heliples, ii. 11 ; helpless.
 hondo, i. 388 ; gentle.
 hende, i. 73 ; hinde, i. 85 ; gentlemanly.
 hens, hennos, hounys, *passim* ; hence.
 hent, i. 320 ; taken.

- hente, i. 382 ; henten, i. 411 ; took, caught.
- heore, i. 215 ; their.
- herbogage, ii. 94 ; lodging.
- herborowe, i. 403 ; to lodge, to give lodging, to harbour.
- here, i. 73 ; to hear.
- heres, i. 80 ; hear, listen to.
- here, ii. 251 ; hair.
- herle, 76 ; to spoil, to ravage.
- hern, i. 818. herne, i. 402 ; a corner.
- hernes, i. 64 ; brains.
- herre, ii. 9 ; ■ hinge ; *out of herre*, out of hinge, unsettled.
- herres, ii. 186 ; theirs.
- hertis, i. 880. hertys, ii. 186 ; harts, deer.
- herly, ii. 355 ; heartily.
- hestes, i. 322 ; commandments.
- hete, i. 74 ; to promise. hetes, i. 62 ; promises.
- helth, i. 898 ; warmth.
- heve and halo, i. 830 ; a phrase equivalent to might and main.
- heved, i. 64 ; head. hevidles, i. 65 ; headless.
- hoved, ii. 85 ; to behold.
- hevyheed, i. 894 ; heavy-head, dull-head.
- hovys, ii. 219 ;
- hewen, ii. 42 ; to labour.
- howsaunce, ii. 285 ; ■ usance, a custom.
- hyand, i. 269 ; going, hieing.
- hicke, i. 394 ; ■ familiar appellation of contempt.
- hide—at hide, i. 60 ; secretly.
- hye, ii. 247 ; go.
- hied, i. 898 ; raised up high.
- hiede, ii. 6 ; heed.
- hyeghe go by, ii. 155 ; apparently ■ similar phrase to the modern heigh-go-mad.
- hicles, ii. 7 ; heels.
- hyen, ii. 86 ; to raise up.
- hiere, ii. 5 ; here.
- hiere, ii. 7 ; to hear.
- hight, i. 75 ; was called.
- hille, i. 409 ; to cover.
- hillyng, ii. 77 ; covering, roof.
- hynderynge, ii. 181 ; hindrance.
- hirto, i. 896 ; hurt.
- hit, ii. 181 ; and *passim*, the original and correct form of it.
- ho, i. 276 ; who.
- hobbis, i. 878 ; clowns (?).
- hobblid, i. 381 ; hobbled, gone.
- hoblid, i. 391 ; hobbled.
- hoby, ii. 155 ; a small kind of horse.
- hode, i. 266 ; ■ hood.
- hodovo, i. 196 ; ■ whale.
- hog-hyerd, i. 269 ; a hog-herd, a driver of pigs.
- hold, ii. 23 ; holden, held.
- hold, i. 317 ; a fortress, whence the word *stronghold*.
- holde, ii. 4 ; held.
- hole, i. 326 ; whole.
- holy, ii. 131 ; wholly.
- holl, i. 88 ; ■ hole (?).
- holly, i. 215 ; wholly. holliche, i. 218.
- holpen, i. 267 ; helped.
- holsume, i. 402 ; wholesome.
- holte, i. 391 ; holtes, i. 381 ; a wood.
- hone, i. 409 ;
- hongen, i. 381 ; they hang.
- hongen, ii. 11 ; hung.
- honsalle, i. 224 ; hansel.
- hoole, i. 370 ; whole.

- hoot, ii. 69; hot.
 hope, ii. 199; expect, suppose, guess.
 hope, i. 218; to expect.
 hoppen, i. 380; they hop.
 hor, i. 225; their.
 hore, i. 307; a whore.
 horow, i. 337; hoar, mouldy.
 hortynge, i. 275; hurting.
 hosel, ii. 46; to administer the eucharist.
 hosyn, i. 275; hose (in the plural).
 housolin, i. 340; to administer the eucharist.
 houten, i. 330; they hoot.
 hovyn, i. 388; to hover. hovel, i. 66; hovered, halted. hoveth, i. 393; hovereth.
 howsyng, ii. 251; houses.
 hue, i. 393.
 hund, i. 82; a dog.
 hunte, ii. 224; a hunter.
 hurdis, i. 88; ropes.
 hure, ii. 145; *goode hure*, represents the French word *bonheur*, happiness, prosperity.
 hurle, i. 392; to jostle.
 ilkone, i. 82; each one, every one.
 impe, i. 218; a sprout, sprig, shoot.
 ine, i. 81; 46; a lodging.
 inc, i. 77; eyes.
 infortune, ii. 5; misfortune.
 inne, i. 264; in, *the adverb*.
 inne, i. 333; lodging.
 inoze, i. 225; enough.
 inomou, i. 335; taken, obtained.
 insampulle, ii. 205; example.
 interfectours, ii. 282; slayers.
 intrikid, ii. 55; interlaced.
 intumpeleoun, ii. 274; interruption.
 ipainted, i. 307; painted.
 ipearled, i. 308; adorned with pearls.
 ipout, i. 332; pinned.
 iradicate, ii. 204; rooted.
 ilk, ii. 153; slow.
 iserze, i. 215; seen.
 ithe, ii. 161; thive.
 ivel, i. 313; evil.
 iwis, i. 64; iwys, ii. 162; truly, surely.
 ize, i. 330; eyes.
 iyrue, ii. 153; iron.

I.

- ieast, i. 217; east.
 ich, i. 216; I.
 ich, i. 372; iche, i. 400; each.
 iclepid, i. 305; called.
 idoo, ii. 198; done.
 idraue, ii. 182; drawn.
 izon, ii. 55; eyes.
 ileyd, i. 217; laid down.
 ilka, i. 59; each, every.
 J.
 jaces, i. 398; flinges (?).
 jake, i. 271; a jack, a defensive coat.
 jangle, i. 327, ii. 243; to prate.
 jangelist, ii. 104; prater.
 jangler, ii. 86; a prater.
 jape, ii. 227; a joke.
 japes, i. 67, 265, ii. 172; jeers, tricks, buffooneries (?).
 jape, i. 270; futuro.

japid, ii. 75 ; mocked, deceived.
 japorys, ii. 236 ; jesters.
 jawdewyne, ii. 86, 101 ; a term of reproach.
 jerorys, i. 278 ; jurers.
 jesino, ii. 213 ; childbed.
 jetto, i. 399 ; fashion.
 jowis, i. 410 ; justice.
 jogulours, ii. 89 ; minstrels, jugglers.
 jolod, i. 399 ; rejoiced.
 jolité, i. 250, 251 ; joy, mirth.
 jollyng, ii. 276 ; people coming into collision with one another.
 joparte, ii. 286 ; jeopard, risk, make a wager.
 jornay, i. 64 ; a voyage.
 journey, ii. 275 ; properly a day, or a day's work, but usually applied to a battle.
 jospinel, ii. 105 ; a term of reproach.
 Juylle, ii. 139 ; Juyll, 131 ; July.
 juperdyé, ii. 132 ; jeopardy.
 juparte, ii. 183 ; to jeopard, to put in risk.

K.

kayes, i. 83 ; the keys.
 kayser, i. 163 ; an emperor.
 kayseccris, i. 378 ; emperors.
 kare, i. 225 ; care, trouble.
 karokkys, ii. 172 ; carrieks or car-racks, large ships, galleons.
 kareyne, i. 390 ; carnion.
 kembe, i. 312 ; to comb.
 ken, i. 73 ; to know.

ken, i. 8 ; to teach, to make to know.
 kend, i. 85 ; kendo, i. 318 ; taught.
 kendly, ii. 65 ; kindly, naturally.
 kenned, i. 390 ; know.
 kepe, ii. 285 ; *take kepe*, pay attention.
 kepud, ii. 279 ; kept.
 kepen, ii. 65 ; keep, dwell.
 kepe, ii. 226.
 kest, i. 226. keste, ii. 252 ; cast.
 ketlord, i. 368 ; diminished.
 kevelle, ii. 217 ;
 kevère, i. 391, 393 ; to discover.
 kevereth, ii. 71 ; covers.
 keow-kaw, i. 407 ; away.
 kid, i. 61 ; known.
 kydesel, ii. 160 ; kid leather.
 kimo, i. 324 ; a simpleton.
 kyn, ii. 243 ; know.
 kynde, i. 380 ; nature.
 kynde, i. 394 ; natural.
 kyurede, ii. 141 ; kindred.
 kintell, i. 82 ; kytelle, i. 265 ; a kittle, ■ sort of cloak thrown over the shoulders.
 kith, i. 71 ; to make known, to show.
 kith, i. 218 ; a region.
 knave, ii. 76 ; ■ serving lad.
 knelys, i. 275 ; kneel.
 knokelys, i. 276 ; knuckled, with knuckles.
 knowlechen, ii. 43 ; acknowledge.
 kogge, i. 72 ; ■ cock-boat.
 konne, i. 393 ; to come to life, to be hatched.
 kouth, i. 71 ; knew.
 lowth, ii. 144 ; known, celebrated.
 krevys, ii. 219 ; a crab.
 kud, i. 218 ; known, celebrated.

kuyttes, i. 388 ; kites (the bird).
 kun, i. 83 ; can, knows how.
 kunnyng, i. 384 ; knowledge.

L

- lack, ii. 213 ; a lack, ■ fault (?).
 lacehide, i. 377 ; blamed.
 laddo, i. 377 ; lod.
 laddo, i. 399 ; lud, people.
 laddus, i. 225 ; luds.
 lade, i. 264 ; a load.
 laly, ii. 236 ;
 laste, i. 395 ; left, deserted.
 layke, i. 64 ; a game, play.
 lake, ii. 177 ; lack.
 langour, ii. 267 ; faintness.
 lare, i. 70 ; teaching.
 lase, ii. 7, 45 ; less.
 late, ii. 148 ; let.
 late, ii. 83 ; leave.
 lath, ii. 6 ; loath, hateful.
 latte, i. 317 ; left.
 lauzte, i. 388 ; caught.
 laureo, ii. 141 ; laurel.
 law, i. 78 ; low.
 leand, i. 307, ii. 25 ; lowd, un-
 learned.
 leanté, i. 269 ; loyalty.
 leche, ii. 226 ; ■ physician.
 leddorr, i. 90 ; a ladder.
 leddyn, i. 373 ; lod.
 lode, i. 382 ; people.
 ledoyng, i. 82 ; at his *ledoyng*, at his
 rule, at his beek.
 ledres, ii. 236.
 leef, i. 373 ; dear, to be desired.
 leef, i. 251 ; believe.
 leere, ii. 230 ; empty.
 lees, ii. 161 ; lies ; *wythowght lees*,
 truly.
 lesinge, i. 399 ; falsehood.
 leste, ii. 192 ; to abandon, to lose.
 leggaunce, i. 217 ; allegiance.
 leggen, i. 252 ; to lie down.
 leggist, ii. 41 ; allegost.
 legiance, i. 374 ; allegiance.
 loyft, ii. 249 ; left.
 loyne, i. 387 ; laid.
 loyne, ii. 228 ; to lie (?).
 leisore, ii. 170 ; leisure.
 lole, i. 326 ; loyal.
 lele, i. 64 ; legal.
 loly, i. 77 ; faithfully, truly.
 loly, i. 89 ; the lily.
 lelley, i. 383 ; loyally, faithfully.
 lemed, ii. 52 ; shone.
 lemes, i. 388 ; rays of brightness.
 lemmen, i. 313, 380 ; a concubine.
 lep, i. 90 ; lend, give.
 leud, i. 63 ; remained, dwell.
 leuded, i. 81 ; remained.
 leudys, i. 391 ; loins.
 leue, i. 218 ; grant.
 leude, i. 405 ; man, person.
 leodis, i. 379 ; people, luds.
 leof, i. 215 ; dear.
 lete, i. 70 ; to teach.
 lerod, i. 326. lewid, ii. 25 ; learned,
 educated.
 lose, i. 386 ; ■ least.
 lose, ii. 6 ; to lose.
 lesynges, ii. 40 ; falsehoods.
 lusse, ii. 189 ; loss.
 lesse, ii. 189 ; loss.
 let, ii. 31 ; hinder. let, i. 251 ; pre-
 vented, hindered.
 lote, i. 215, 217 ; to leave, to aban-
 don, to fail.
 lete, i. 217 ; to care.

letherin, i. 90 | made of leather.
 lett, i. 64, &c. | to prevent, to put a
 stop to.
 lette, i. 884 ; to fail.
 letto, i. 883 | hindered, prevented.
 letteroun, ii. 78 ; a lectern, or read-
 ing-stand.
 leud, i. 826 | uneducated, ignorant.
 leuté, i. 269 | loyalty.
 leve, i. 66, 69 | to believe.
 love, i. 892 | to live.
 levon, i. 381 ; to believe.
 leven, ii. 67 ; leavé.
 levone, ii. 211 ; lightning.
 leveroy, i. 879 ; leveré, 381 ; leve-
 rez, 888 | livery.
 levest, i. 888 ; dearest.
 loved, i. 894 ; lived ?
 levid, i. 60 ; left.
 lovyu, ii. 198 ; live.
 leveste, i. 872 ; most willingly, es-
 pecially.
 leward, ii. 286.
 lewde, i. 382 ; uneducated, ignorant.
 lewdely, ii. 198 ; vilely, ill-advisedly.
 lewidhood, ii. 75 ; ignorance.
 libol, ii. 157, 282 ; a little book, a
 pamphlet.
 liche, ii. 142, *et passim* ; like.
 likeness, ii. 108 ; similitude, som-
 blance.
 lioue, ii. 14 ; place.
 lifes, i. 66 ; lives.
 liflole, i. 866 | lyflode, i. 405 | food,
 sustenance.
 lig, i. 77 ; to lie.
 ligand, i. 82 | lying.
 ly3e, i. 250 ; to lie.
 ligeaunce, ii. 187 ; allegiance.
 liggen, ii. 19 ; laid.
 ligges, i. 65 ; lies.

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 liztly, ii. 43 ; lyghtlich, i. 873 ;
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 liztles, ii. 43 ; without light, in the
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me, it pleased me. liketh, ii. 118 ;
 it pleases ; *how hem likith*, how
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 lykyng, i. 267, 392 ; pleasure, lust.
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 liken. likynest, ii. 89 ; comparest.
 lykken, ii. 269 ; compare.
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 lymitour, i. 265 ; limitors, ii. 21 ;
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 tain limits.
 list, ii. 141 ; likes, pleases.
 list, i. 73 ; cunning, artifice (?).
 liste, i. 392 ; to desire.
 lite, i. 325, 369 ; little.
 lith, i. 218 ; limb.
 lithes, i. 58 ; listen.
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 lywith, ii. 249 ; lived.
 lobby, i. 389 ; a lubber.
 loonge, ii. 14 ; praise.
 lo3e, i. 225 ; laughed.
 logges, ii. 50 ;
 loggid, ii. 211 ; lodged.
 lolle, ii. 243 ; to profess the doc-
 trines of religious reform, to be
 bold ; literally, to idle about.
 lollors, i. 305 ; vagabonds.
 londlese, i. 305 ; people without
 settled abode.
 longe, i. 217 ; to belong to. longid,
 i. 389 ; belonged. longeth, i. 333 ;
 longith, 393 ; belongs. longynge,
 ii. 196 ; belonging.

X

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 loode-sterre, ii. 178 ; lodestorre, ii.
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 lothen, ii. 246 ; hate.
 loure, i. 266, 377 ; to look discon-
 tented or cross.
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 to bend, to bow, to make obeis-
 sance.
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 luscheburne, i. 140 ; ■ debased
 foreign coin, so named from
 Luxemburgh, whence they were
 brought.
 luste, i. 393 ; to desire. lust, ii. 149 ;
 pleases.

M.

ma, *passim*; more.
 maddid, i. 376, 387 ; drove mad.
 mafey, ii. 75 ; my faith ! (an ex-
 clamation).
 maflau de, ii. 225 ; a fool.
 maflid, i. 415 ; stammered.
 magré, ii. 272 ; in spite of.
 maine, i. 74 ; strength, force.
 maistership, i. 338 ; office of autho-
 rity.
 maisterfully, i. 323 ; authoritatively,
 by force.
 maistris, i. 338 ; authority.
 male, i. 307 ; a box, a chest.
 malisoun, ii. 112 ; curse.
 mals, i. 379 ;
 manasinge, i. 60 ; a threat.
 manciple, ii. 98 ; the purveyor of
 provisions, or clerk of the kitchen.
 mane, i. 65 ; moan, lament.
 maners, i. 225 ; manors, mansion
 houses.
 manslaughter, i. 278 ; manslaughter.
 marcerye, i. 264 ; mercery.
 marchandes, ii. 160 ; merchants.
 marchandy, ii. 160 ; merchandise.
 marches, ii. 12 ; borders, border dis-
 tricts.
 maro, i. 80 ; more.
 markes, i. 267 ; marks (money).
 merkis, i. 384 ; marks, signs, badges.
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 martenus, ii. 186 ; furs of the mar-
 ten.
 martis, ii. 179 ; marts, or fairs.
 masc, i. 81 ; makes.
 mastling, i. 308 ; mixed metal.

mastery, i. 328; authority, force.
 matyn, ii. 50; to confound.
 matter, i. 273; matter.
 materas, ii. 217; ■ mattress.
 mawfescours, ii. 85; evil-doers.
 maugré, i. 330; in spite of.
 mawgré, i. 60, ii. 112; bad comfort,
 spite, displeasure.
 mawmentrie, ii. 246; idolatry.
 meche, ii. 42; much.
 mede, i. 71, 332; reward, bribe.
 medes, ii. 252; bribes.
 medled, ii. 74; mixed.
 megre, i. 264; meagre, thin.
 meyné, ii. 196; attendants, com-
 pany.
 meynlenourz, i. 405; maintainers.
 mekill, i. 63; much.
 mele, i. 250; to meddle, to treat.
 mell, i. 329; melle, ii. 248; to
 meddle.
 molld, i. 888; mixed.
 memorable, ii. 194; to be remem-
 bered, memorable.
 mondls, i. 376, 381; amends.
 mené, i. 408; household, retinue.
 monzé, i. 61, 66; retinue.
 menged, ii. 161; mixed.
 mongid, ii. 99; reminded.
 menid, i. 70; meant, intended.
 meny, ii. 167; people, *mainé*.
 monys, ii. 190; means.
 mente, ii. 50; mint (the plant).
 menuse, ii. 53; to diminish, to de-
 tract from.
 menusyng, ii. 85; detracting from.
 mere, ii. 68; a mare.
 merk, ii. 212; dark.
 merke, i. 84; ■ mark.
 meschef, i. 48, ii. 7; mishap, mis-
 fortune.

messe, ii. 93; the mass.
 messes, i. 327; dishes at table.
 meto, ii. 86; boundary.
 meteles, i. 264; without meat.
 meuve, i. 370; move.
 meve, i. 378; move.
 mewe, ii. 170; a close place; strictly
 speaking, the place where falcons
 were put to moult.
 mowe, ii. 228; to moult.
 mych, i. 278; mycho, ii. 187; much.
 michel, ii. 45; great.
 middis, ii. 252; the midst, the middle
 of.
 midel-erd, i. 58; the earth, the
 world.
 mylne, ii. 53; a mill.
 mynged, i. 379; meddled, mixed;
 though it may be an error for
mynded.
 myngit, ii. 51; mixes.
 mynys, ii. 286; mines.
 mynoth, ii. 58; undermines.
 mynusshyth, ii. 189; diminishes.
 myry, ii. 72; pleasant, merry.
 mis, i. 252; error, wrong.
 myschevyd, i. 272, ii. 269; plagued,
 injured, brought into misfortune.
 miscreantz, ii. 12; unbelievers, in-
 fidels.
 misfare, i. 89; to mischance, mishap.
 misqueme, i. 323; to displease.
 missaverynge, ii. 53; misunder-
 standing (?).
 myssavyzyng, ii. 253; bad counsel.
 myssetyne, ii. 58; to err.
 myste, i. 378; might.
 mistore, i. 309; need.
 mystir, i. 409;
 myswent, ii. 243; gone wrong, fallen
 into abuse.

mytird, ii. 146; mitred, had their mitres on.
 myth, i. 364; mythe, ii. 187; might.
 mocho, ii. 243; great.
 mochel, i. 268; much.
 mode, i. 74; mod, ii. 7; mind, spirit.
 mody, i. 71; highminded, brave.
 mold, i. 80; molde, i. 391; i. 408; earth, world.
 molde, i. 388;
 mon, i. 251; man.
 mone, ii. 208; lamentation.
 moné, i. 64; money.
 monest, ii. 104; lamentest, monnest.
 monkuynde, i. 250; mankind.
 mony, i. 252; many.
 moo, ii. 188; more.
 moppis, i. 406; fools.
 more, ii. 21; greater.
 more, i. 83; a moor.
 mornyngo, ii. 76; mourning.
 mot, i. 59; may.
 mote, i. 218; might.
 moule, i. 342; to become mouldy.
 moun, i. 400; may.
 mousde, i. 396; mused.
 mowe, i. 327; may.
 mowen, ii. 269; mowed.
 mowyth, ii. 250; may.
 mowtynge, i. 380; moulting.
 mucke, ii. 243; used commonly as a contemptuous term for money, or wealth.
 multiphary, ii. 181; multifarious.
 mun, i. 73; may.
 muso, i. 372; reflect, brood over.
 mutt, ii. 188; might.

N.

nakor, i. 69; ■ musical instrument, a cornet or brass horn.
 nay, ii. 126; *this is no nay*, this admits of no denial.
 nayt, ii. 62; naught.
 nale, i. 330; the ale.
 namely, ii. 92; especially.
 natho, ii. 222; the nave of a cart.
 neany, ii. 156; none, not any.
 nec, i. 274; the neck.
 nest, i. 376;
 neghe, i. 267; closely. "The land is so closely sought by the friars, that the secular priests can hardly get any employment."
 nolde, i. 327; a needle.
 nempne, i. 376; to name, to mention, to tell; nempned, i. 408; called.
 ner, *passim*; nor.
 nero, i. 408; noarer.
 nero, i. 330; for *ne were*, were not.
 nerora, i. 264; kidneys (?).
 nevone, ii. 211, 284; name.
 nowe, ii. 49; anew, again.
 newed, i. 373, 412; renewed.
 noweth, i. 372; annoyeth.
 ny, i. 392; near.
 nyeth, i. 393; approacheth. *nyhed*, i. 408; approached.
 niflos, ii. 172; trifles, nicknacks.
 niggon, i. 326; niggards.
 nyghod, i. 380; approached.
 nil, i. 313; contracted from *ne will*, will not.
 nis, i. 216; nys, 370; contraction of *ne is*, is not.
 nyselé, i. 399; delicacy, nicety.
 nyst, i. 415; know not, for *ne wist*,

noble, ii. 159; the name of a coin minted under Edward III.
 nodyr, ii. 271; neither.
 nodur, i. 365; *no nodur*, for *non odur*, none other.
 noy, ii. 182; injury. *noyes*, i. 372; injuries, griefs, annoyances.
 noien, ii. 56; to injure.
 nokes, i. 75; corners, nooks.
 nold, i. 325; for *ne wold*, would not.
 nolle, i. 374; the head, noddle.
 nomen, i. 86; took.
 not, i. 398;
 nothor, i. 392; neither.
 nouthor, i. 216; neither.
 nownagis, i. 412; nonages.

O.

obeysaunt, i. 308; making obeisance.
 obeisaunte, ii. 189; obedient.
 about, i. 61; about.
 odur, ii. 250; or.
 ogayn, i. 59; again. *ogayne*, i. 64; against.
 ogaines, i. 59; against.
 ogline, ii. 9; own.
 oght, i. 267; ought.
 oilles, i. 401;
 ok, i. 216; oak.
 olive, i. 71; alive.
 onde, i. 84; an error of the press for *londe*.
 one, i. 82; only.
 onys, i. 371; once.
 onthryfty, i. 272; that which counteracts or destroys thrift.
 oo, i. 278; one.

oon, ii. 137; one.
 oore, ii. 186; ore.
 opon, i. 70; upon.
 opposaile, ii. 204; question, inquiry, argument, for *apposaile*.
 oi, i. 397; before.
 ore, ii. 197; an oar.
 osey, ii. 163; a sort of wine.
 osmonde, ii. 171; a sort of iron.
 oste, ii. 177, 178, for *hoste*; to take up lodgings (?).
 ostentacioun, ii. 190; appearances, demonstration.
 otore, ii. 186; the otter.
 ottre, ii. 215; to utter.
 onches, i. 331, 334; jewels.
 ouis, ii. 68; ours.
 outaye, i. 216; to outrage, to injure.
 outrayeng, ii. 143; crasing, expelling.
 overeledyngc, ii. 195; oppression.
 oversene, ii. 205; overlooked, read through.
 overthwaite, ii. 190; to cross, to embarrass.
 overwacche, i. 406; sitting up over late.
 oway, i. 78; away.
 owgly, ii. 218; ugly.
 owyn, i. 273; own.

P

paien, ii. 46; pay.
 paiene, ii. 5; pagan.
 paynen, i. 311; to labour.
 paynymcs, ii. 65; paynymys, ii. 283; pagans.

- parishens, ii. 87; parishioners.
 paley, ii. 205; a palace.
 palet, i. 79; the head, the pate.
 pull, i. 78; fine cloth.
 panne, i. 376, 391, 409; pannes, i. 409; the skull, the head.
 pans, ii. 66; pence.
 paucis, i. 390; nets, snare.
 paragals, i. 377; peers, companions.
 parage, i. 218; peering (?).
 par-amom, ii. 280; by or for love (used adverbially).
 parbrake, ii. 63; to vomit.
 paroeit, i. 369; perception.
 pardé, *passim*; an exclamation, literally *by God*.
 pardonystres, ii. 78; pardoners.
 parfettes, ii. 227.
 parist, ii. 9; the rule, the exemplar.
 parsite, ii. 224.
 paryformytee, ii. 198; similitude.
 parishen, i. 327; a parishioner.
 paryshens, ii. 217; parishioners.
 parle, i. 414; to talk.
 parlous, ii. 227; perilous.
 parocho, ii. 72; a parish.
 partable, ii. 220; sharing in.
 parten, ii. 98; to give a share of.
 pavys, ii. 152; a sort of large shield.
 pousse, i. 389; a pea.
 pecus, ii. 227.
 peedougré, ii. 181; a pedigree.
 peero, i. 372; a pear.
 peynys, i. 272; punishment.
 peynys, ii. 181; to paint.
 peise, ii. 8; to weigh, to deliberate.
 poked, ii. 251; peaked.
 pelers, i. 62; pillars.
 pelour, ii. 246; a plunderer. a
- poltre-wate, ii. 171; raw hides, perhaps more especially of wild beasts.
 polure, i. 266; fur.
 penceil, i. 76; a streamer, or ornamental flag.
 pende, i. 323; to confine.
 pensac, i. 398; want of money.
 perantet, ii. 60; peradventure, perhaps.
 perdé, ii. 125; an exclamation of affirmation, *par Dieu*.
 perdurable, ii. 14; enduring, everlasting.
 pere, ii. 201; a peer.
 pere, i. 59; a pear.
 perfit, ii. 243; perfect.
 perhs, i. 375; pearls.
 permagall, i. 307; probably a misprint for *peregal*, equal.
 portle, i. 308; precious stones.
 persen, ii. 81; pierce.
 persons, ii. 30; persons, ii. 217; persons, parish priests.
 perswyaunce, ii. 242; continuation (?).
 pertli, ii. 61; openly, plainly, for *apertli*.
 pes, ii. 5; pence.
 pese, ii. 251; pence.
 pesinge, i. 400; piecing, joining the pieces together.
 petó, *passim*; pity.
 piment, i. 816; a sort of mixed drink.
 piereler, ii. 18; peerless, without equal.
 pight, i. 390; pyzto, ii. 162; raised, fixed, pitched.
 niken, ii. 66; to steal.

- pylcho, ii. 219 ; a leathern coat.
 pyle, ii. 240 ; the obverse side of a coin, the other side having a cross. Hence the game of *crosse and pyle* was equivalent to our "heads and tails."
 pill, i. 314 ; to plunder.
 pillynge, i. 374 ; plundering.
 pillour, i. 306 ; ■ pillow.
 pine, i. 77, ii. 251 ; pain, punishment.
 pined, i. 318 ; pyned, ii. 267 ; pynnyd, i. 389 ; tormented, punished.
 pipoudris, i. 409 ; courts of pipoudere held at fairs and markets for the speedy trial of offences occurring there.
 pirith, i. 398 ; peeps, watches.
 pistles, ii. 63 ; epistles.
 pitaille, i. 76 ; foot soldiers.
 piteouse, piteous, ii. 189 ; lamentable.
 pyteuxly, ii. 267 ; piteously.
 playn, ii. 152, 269 ; even, level.
 plain, ii. 13 ; simple, candid.
 playne, i. 64 ; abundant (?).
 plasmacion, i. 275 ; make, formation.
 plate, i. 76 ; mail, armour.
 pleasaunce, ii. 254 ; pleasure.
 pleigne, ii. 8 ; pleyn, i. 77 ; pleyne, i. 376 ; to complain.
 pleysaunce, ii. 184 ; pleasure, *thynges of pleysaunce*, ornamental objects.
 plenill, ii. 89 ; fully.
 plesand, i. 265 ; pleasing, agreeable.
 plenteuous, plenteouse, ii. 188, 212 ; productive, producing plenty, abundant.
 plenteuousnesse, ii. 242 ; abundance.
 plete, i. 305, 410 ; to plead, to argue.
 plowme, i. 389 ; plume.
 plit, ii. 13 ; plight.
 plytes, i. 399 ; pleats.
 plomayle, i. 381 ; feathers, plumage.
 pocys, ii. 139 ;
 poynt-makers, ii. 160 ; makers of the points, or laces, with which the hose were fastened.
 pokes, i. 332 ; sleeves.
 pol, i. 389 ; the head.
 poleyn, ii. 213 ; a *polcyn steede*, may mean either a young steed, or a Polish steed.
 polled, i. 79 ; shorn, shaved.
 poepeholy, ii. 251, pretending to great holiness.
 poynale, ii. 285 ; the poor classes of society.
 port, i. 329 ; bearing.
 portred, i. 307 ; pictured.
 possessioners, i. 267 ; persons endowed with land, referring here apparently to the monks, in contradistinction to the friars.
 postilles, ii. 44 ; apostles.
 pounge, i. 276 ; ■ pouch.
 poure, ii. 249, power.
 poure, i. 372 ; to pore.
 pover, i. 66 ; poor.
 povert, i. 270 ; poverty.
 poweh, i. 274 ; a purse, a pouch.
 powchers, ii. 109 ; makers of pouches.
 power, ii. 25 ; poor.
 praptyk, ii. 241 ; perhaps for *practyk*, or practice.
 pray, i. 314 ; prey (?).
 prease, ii. 38 ; to urge, to press.
 prease, i. 305 ; prison (?).
 precith, i. 393 ; presseth.

preffe, ii. 161; proof.
 preifs, i. 369; proofs, experience.
 praysing, i. 374; appraising, fixing
 a value on.
 preclousiteo, ii. 68; value, pre-
 clousness.
 prece, i. 61; press, crowd.
 proseyn, ii. 217; press (?).
 prosee, i. 401; to push.
 presse, i. 250.
 prest, i. 226, 326; ready.
 prest, i. 71; pressed, in haste.
 provayle, ii. 285 (?).
 prevy, ii. 285; private.
 prove, i. 372; to prove.
 *prico, ii. 198; a prize.
 prike, i. 62; pryke, ii. 208; to ride.
 pringnant, ii. 227; pregnant (?).
 prynte, i. 385; impression (?).
 prisio, i. 59; ii. 14, 63; praise, value.
 privyng, ii. 85; depriving.
 privyte, ii. 75; privacy.
 procuratour, i. 326; a proctor, an
 attorney.
 procure, ii. 84; to act by procu-
 ration.
 proesce, ii. 200; prowess.
 prophote, i. 412; profit.
 propurtés, i. 394; peculiarities,
 characteristics.
 prove, i. 76; to try.
 'puissaunce, ii. 181; power.
 puit, i. 215; put.
 pultor, i. 389; poultry (?).
 puple, ii. 41; people.
 pure, i. 391; poor.
 purraile, i. 389; the common people,
 the poor.
 putree, i. 312; whoredom.
 puttocke, i. 344; a kite (the bird).

Q.

quaint, i. 334; ingenious, quaint.
 queintise, i. 322; cunning.
 queme, i. 400; qweine, ii. 142; to
 please.
 quentise, i. 385, 400; cunning,
 artfulness.
 querele, ii. 14; the complaint.
 quie, ii. 74; alive.
 quicke, i. 326; alive.
 quite, ii. 12; requite.
 quite, i. 78; quit, relieved of.
 quok, i. 251; quaked.
 quell, qwell, i. 61, 70; to kill.
 qwen, i. 275; when.
 qweie, i. 273; ware, beware of.
 qwere, i. 274; where.

R.

raboyn, i. 388; rapine.
 rache, ii. 225; a scenting hound.
 racheshede, ii. 187; carelessness.
 Apparently miswritten by the
 scribe for *racheshede*.
 rad, ii. 132; read (part.)
 rafte, i. 373; taken from you, ref't.
 ragmanne, ii. 228; a catalogue or
 inventory.
 ray, i. 398; array.
 rayed, i. 397; arrayed.
 rayke, i. 264; to wander about.
 railed, i. 69; set, placed.
 ranes, ii. 65; snot.
 rape, i. 82; a rope.
 rapoly, i. 74, 369; quickly, hastily.

- rascalle, i. 386; rassakayle, 387;
 raskalle, *ib.*; the lower orders.
 rasyd, ii. 108; erased, diminished.
 rasith, ii. 92; oraseth, defaceth.
 ratele, ii. 64; to rattle out, to talk
 loudly and inconsiderately.
 rathly, i. 77; speedily.
 ratyn, ii. 110.
 rault, ii. 211; reached.
 raunbound, i. 323; ransomed,
 floeced.
 ravinour, i. 326; a plunderer.
 raw, i. 69; a row, a rank.
 realles, i. 378; royals (*regales*).
 roamys, ii. 132; realms.
 rebellyous, ii. 270; rebels.
 recchith, i. 397; care, reck.
 recholess, ii. 133; reckless.
 rechlyme, i. 390; brought back, ■
 term in falconry.
 recuire, ii. 249; recover.
 recure, ii. 269; to recover.
 red, rode, i. 218, 232; to counsel,
 to advise.
 rede, ii. 8; a need.
 rede, i. 68; counsel.
 redelos, i. 373; counsel-less, un-
 advised.
 redely, i. 371, 383; readily.
 redles, i. 73; unadvised, foolish.
 redlyd, ii. 217; twisted.
 reden, i. 376; rode.
 reede, i. 398; counsel.
 reevolle, i. 413; revol.
 refreit, ii. 211; the burthen of ■ song.
 regaliche, ii. 196; royally.
 regalie, ii. 4; regalye, ii. 142;
 royalty, royal position.
 reght, i. 74; right.
 regne, i. 266; to reign.
 regne, ii. 157; a kingdom.
 reyke, ii. 73; course, fling.
 reynobowe, i. 404; the rainbow.
 roys, ii. 175.
 roisin, ii. 109; raise.
 rejoise, ii. 254; to enjoy; rejoisynge,
 ii. 144; enjoying.
 roles, ii. 47; release.
 rome, ii. 282; realm.
 rememoraunce, ii. 242; remem-
 brance, mindfulness.
 remene, i. 216; to call to mind (?).
 removyd, ii. 123; removed.
 romossaylles, ii. 220; remuants.
 ren, i. 73; to run.
 renyd, ii. 77; ruined.
 renk, i. 381; ■ man.
 renne, i. 383; to run; ii. 132; run
 (participle). rennen, ii. 74; they
 run. rennyng, ii. 276; running.
 renomed, ii. 133; renowned.
 rent, i. 78.
 renue, ii. 75; be restored.
 reot, i. 418; riot, disorder.
 repreff, i. 371; reproof.
 reprove, i. 402; to reprove.
 reie, ii. 245; to raise.
 reiemys, i. 406; bats.
 rereth, ii. 244; raiseth.
 rereward, ii. 57; the rear-guard of
 ■ army.
 resayvid, ii. 274; received.
 rescoyte, i. 385; receipt.
 reso, i. 76; halting (?).
 reste, ii. 252; dwelling place.
 esteined, ii. 14; retained (?). Per-
 haps it should be read *rescerved*.
 restid, ii. 278; arrested.
 restore, i. 390;
 retch, ii. 33; care, reck.
 retourned, ii. 268; brought back
 again.

- revo, ii. 51; to deprive, take from.
 reve, ii. 245; to plunder. roved,
 i. 66; plundered, robbed.
 roverce, i. 265; a term in dress-
 making.
 rovers, ii. 164; sea-robbers, pirates.
 roward, i. 218, ii. 134; regard.
 rowe, i. 373; to rue.
 rowis, i. 371; rows, lines, or couplets.
 rowleless, ii. 212; without rule, un-
 governed.
 rowme, i. 378, 398; a realm.
 rowth, i. 369; ruth.
 rialle, i. 398; royal.
 rialle, ii. 207; royally, like a king
 or queen.
 rybawdus, i. 225; ribawdes, ii. 152;
 ribalds, a low class of medieval
 society.
 ribandery, i. 263; ribaldry.
 richen, i. 326; to enrich.
 ryll, i. 380; rife, frequent.
 ryllled, i. 374; rifled.
 rifld, i. 62; plundered, rifled.
 rig, i. 77; rigge, i. 407; the back.
 ryztyn, i. 369; to correct, to set
 right.
 rightwys, ii. 267; rightwise, i. 811;
 righteous.
 rightwisenesse, ii. 8; righteousness.
 riken, ii. 228; reckon.
 riot, ii. 244; tumult.
 riote, i. 263, 373; riot; riotous
 living.
 riotours, i. 311; people who live in
 extravagance and riot.
 rith, i. 369; right.
 rivaling, i. 62; a rough shoe for-
 merly worn by the Scots.
 rode, i. 74, 89; a cross.
 rose, ii. 126; clove, split.
 roff, i. 401; roof, vault.
 romee, ii. 90; roar (?).
 ronnon, i. 364; run.
 rood, i. 311; roode, ii. 127; a cross.
 roother, i. 216; a rudder.
 roseers, ii. 210; rose trees.
 rote, ii. 221; a musical instrument
 resembling the hurdy-gurdy.
 rotus, i. 387; roots.
 rough, ii. 269; reeked, cared.
 rouzt, i. 366;
 rouzte, i. 396; rout.
 roun, i. 380; to whisper.
 route, ii. 246; to go in company on
 foot.
 route, ii. 167; assemble.
 routus, i. 374; rowth.
 roven, i. 343; riven, separated.
 rovers, ii. 164; robbers on the sea,
 pirates.
 rowyng, ii. 284;
 rownde, ii. 193; encircling. *This
 rownde see, this sea round us.*
 rowners, i. 271; whisperers.
 rowte, i. 225, ii. 180; a company, a
 crowd.
 rough-fute, i. 62; rough-footed.
 rumbelynge, ii. 276; tumult.

S.

- sacrynge, ii. 234; the consecration
 of the host.
 salde, ii. 47; serious.
 sadly, ii. 38; seriously.
 saff, i. 373; safe.
 saff, i. 374; save.
 saylo, i. 216; to assail.
 saine, i. 61; to say.

skales, i. 61; blameless, guiltless.

sale, i. 75; shall.

sale, i. 307;

shall, i. 73; shall.

salton, i. 88; shalt thou.

salve, i. 70; to save.

sample, ii. 243; example.

sand, ii. 6; the act of sending, a message.

sape, i. 265; soap.

sare, i. 59; sore.

sary, i. 60; sore.

sarri, i. 218;

satyllyn, ii. 81; settle (?).

savere, i. 371; know (?).

sauf, ii. 243; save.

sauf, ii. 8; saved, safe.

sauf, ii. 6; safe, possessing safety.

saule, i. 63; saule, i. 266; the soul.

sawd, ii. 94; payment, hire.

sawe, i. 70, 86, ii. 182; a saying, a report. sawis, i. 402, ii. 401; sayings.

sawte, ii. 277, 278; an assault.

sawtld, ii. 278; assaulted.

scant, ii. 189; to become scanty, to fail.

scaplerie, ii. 19; a scapulary, part of the ecclesiastic dress.

scathe, i. 265; loss.

schac, i. 67; to shake.

schad, ii. 7; shed.

schawes, i. 89; woods.

sched, i. 252; the division of the hair on the top of the head.

schedde, ii. 8; shed.

scheltron, i. 71; schilteroun, i. 72;

■ squadron or division of soldiers.

schende, i. 73; to destroy.

schene, i. 71; bright.

schont, i. 225; ruined, destroyed.

schermyn, ii. 285; shear-men, those who shear the cloth.

schow, i. 415; show.

schowe, i. 394, 418; appear.

schides, ii. 53; planks.

schiperd, i. 84; shepherd.

schone, ii. 251; shoes.

schope, ii. 63; created.

schoppe, i. 403; to chop.

schorned, i. 404; scorned.

schour, i. 216; shower.

schour, ii. 268; schowre, i. 85; battle, conflict.

schrapid, i. 394; scraped, scratched.

schrevys, i. 418; sheriffs.

schrewed, i. 392; cursed.

schrive, i. 88; confess thyself.

schroff, i. 388;

schroup, i. 388;

seole, ii. 43; school.

seomferture, ii. 278; discomfiture.

seorte, i. 401; scorn.

seredes, ii. 252; shreds, alluding to the cutting and jaggging of the cloth in dresses of that period.

serowe, ii. 165, 192; a writing, a scroll.

se, i. 63; the sea.

se, i. 378; a sent, a see.

seehe, i. 392; to seek.

see, i. 410; a sent.

seggist, ii. 72; speakest.

sey, ii. 124; saw.

seie, i. 215; to say.

seye, i. 215; seen.

seize, i. 216; seen..

seintis, i. 398; girdles.

seyn, ii. 17, 181; they say

seyne, ii. 179; to see.

seist, ii. 49; speakest.

seke, ii. 125; sick.

- sekor, i. 321; sure.
 sekir, ii. 248; sure, certain.
 solcoutho, i. 368; strange, wonderful.
 solo, ii. 125; time.
 soldo; i. 394; seldom.
 soly, ii. 109; simple.
 sello, ii. 185;
 sembland, i. 78; like.
 semblé, ii. 125; ■ assembly, a meeting together (here, in shock of battle).
 sembled, i. 369; assembled.
 sen, i. 60; since.
 sen, ii. 9; see.
 senecres, ii. 42; censers.
 sendal, ii. 68; ■ sort of valuable cloth or silk.
 senq, ii. 188; see.
 senin, i. 86; since, afterwards.
 seo, i. 250, &c.; see.
 sore, i. 365; dry, withered.
 sore, i. 86; several.
 sorgantos, i. 70; servants.
 sorpenti, ii. 49; treacherously, like a serpent.
 serteyne, ii. 152; certain; a *sertayne*, in certain, for certain.
 sorved, ii. 12; preserved.
 servid, i. 381; deserved.
 sosid, ii. 278; stopped.
 sesso, ii. 104; cease.
 soverc, ii. 209; to separate.
 sewde, ii. 278; scuyd, ii. 279; issued.
 sewe, ii. 228; sue.
 sewis, i. 310; follows.
 shadwe, ii. 216; shade, shadow.
 shede, i. 311; separate.
 shende, i. 344, ii. 188; to ruin, to destroy.
 shondship, ii. 45; shenshepe, i. 405; shenshippe, ii. 227; ruin, destruction.
 shene, ii. 218; bright, shining.
 shont, i. 269; shente, ii. 187; ruined, destroyed, lost.
 shepen, ii. 76; a sheep-cot.
 shorish, ii. 188; shires.
 showyng, ii. 109; offering.
 shipun, ii. 72; a sheep-cot.
 shone, i. 266; shoes.
 show, i. 317; a shoe.
 shryfo, i. 265; to shrive.
 shryffe, ii. 207; confess.
 shrift, ii. 22; confession.
 shrift-fathers, ii. 22; confessors.
 shulde, ii. 244; shield.
 sibbe, ii. 70; kindred.
 sibbe, i. 392; kin, relation.
 sicorly, ii. 49; surely.
 sieho, ii. 67; such.
 sydus, i. 277; sides.
 sle, i. 327; to see.
 sigh, ii. 146; saw.
 signement, ii. 147; assignment, assignation.
 syked, ii. 206; sighed.
 sikor, i. 217; sure, secure.
 sykerliche, i. 252; surely.
 sykerness, ii. 241; certainty.
 sympylle, ii. 284; in the sense of small.
 synder, i. 216; sunder; *in synder*, asunder.
 syngyn, i. 270; to sing.
 sir, i. 378, 379; a lord.
 sit, ii. 5; becomes.
 sitoe, ii. 187; situation (?).
 sytes, i. 268; sits.
 sitzh, i. 374; a sight.
 sith, ii. 22; since.

- sythenne, i. 225; since, afterwards.
 sitte, ii. 5; becomes.
 sitting, i. 393; incubation.
 skall, i. 311; scab.
 skamonye, ii. 173; scammony, a
 plant used in medicine.
 skathed, i. 385; injured.
 skore, i. 383.
 skylle, i. 385, ii. 188. skil, ii. 42;
 reason, knowledge; *can thereonc*
no skylle, are quite ignorant in
 the matter.
 sklendly, ii. 219; slender.
 skood, ii. 219.
 skry, ii. 154; cry.
 skritth, i. 71; to escape (?).
 slake, ii. 206; to desist, to cease.
 slako, ii. 10; to be extinguished.
 slaken, i. 86; to assuage, to quench.
 slaveyn, i. 404; a sort of mantle.
 slave, ii. 285; slain.
 sloen, ii. 184; to slay.
 sleight, ii. 18; trickery, deception.
 slon, ii. 10; to slay.
 slent, ii. 112; slunk.
 sloth, ii. 7; slayeth.
 slow, i. 345; probably a misprint of
 the black-letter edition for *flew*,
 i.e. put them to flight.
 slowys, i. 273; sleeves.
 slyndyng, ii. 182; slipping.
 slike, i. 59, 60; such.
 slite, i. 385.
 slode, i. 404; slid.
 slogh, i. 64; slozo, i. 225; slonz, i.
 216; slow.
 sloughe, sloughte, ii. 187; sloth.
 slouh, ii. 13; he slow.
 slowe, ii. 8; slow.
 slugly, ii. 203; sluggishly.
 sinacolith, ii. 64; smacks, tastes of.
 smere, i. 325; to smear, to daub
 over.
 smothering, ii. 54; smothering.
 Perhaps a mere error of the
 scribe.
 snaper, i. 88; to stumble.
 snarre, ii. 55; to ensnare.
 snok-drawers, ii. 98; lifters of
 latches.
 snell, i. 70; quick.
 snowerie, ii. 111.
 soeffrin, ii. 10; suffer.
 sofferen, ii. 206; sovereign.
 softe, ii. 8; mild.
 soget, i. 272, ii. 192; subject.
 soile, ii. 38; to assoil, to absolve.
 sojourmant, i. 327; a sojourner.
 soleyne, i. 415; sullen, or solemn.
 somen, ii. 89; to summon.
 somere, i. 380; summer.
 sompne, i. 380; to summon.
 sompnour, i. 318; the officer who
 cited offenders before the consis-
 tory court.
 sonde, i. 370, ii. 202; that which is
 sent, ■ message. sondis, i. 413;
 messages.
 sonder, i. 268; to separate; *make*
ham to sonder, disperse them.
 sondrid, i. 388; separated.
 song, i. 267; singing.
 songen, i. 79; sung.
 sonne, ii. 178, 196; the sun.
 sool, ii. 103; soole, ii. 190; sole,
 single.
 sore, ii. 190; sorrow.
 ■ Owen, ii. 7; lament over.
 sorwyng, ii. 40; lamenting.
 sotolté, ii. 175; subtlety.
 sothe, i. 266; truth.
 sofil, ii. 85; subtle.

- sotloll, ii. 273 | subtle.
 soukoth, ii. 174 ; sucks.
 soukle, i. 304 ; to absorb moisture(?),
 said of bad seed
 soule, i. 376.
 soun, ii. 219 ; sound, voice.
 soupe, i. 387 ; sup.
 sourdid, i. 368 ; proceeded.
 soue, i. 269 ; sourly.
 sowed, i. 70 ; repented (?).
 sowkid, i. 412 ; sucked, drunk in.
 sowters, ii. 109 ; cobblers.
 sowth, ii. 284 ; sought.
 sparris, ii. 77 ; rafters, beams.
 spas, i. 262 ; space.
 specialis, i. 276 ; sweethearts.
 specionus, ii. 98 ; beautiful.
 spyse, i. 265 ; spice.
 spokoles, ii. 222 ; destitute of
 spokes.
 spono, i. 273 ; spun.
 sporys, i. 275 ; spurs.
 stable, ii. 8 ; to strengthen.
 stable, i. 373, 404 ; to become strong,
 or firm.
 stakerth, ii. 40 | staggers.
 stalle, i. 389 ; stole.
 standon, ii. 202 ; to be arrested, to
 become stationary, not progress-
 ing.
 stano, i. 62 ; stono.
 stant, *passim*, stands.
 stappis, ii. 102 ; steps.
 sterc, ii. 215 ; the starling.
 stareand, i. 64 ; staring.
 sted, i. 262 ; stede, i. 63, 76 ; ii. 14 ;
 steedes, i. 304 ; place.
 steeris, i. 405 ; oxen.
 stelly, ii. 289 ; stiffly, firmly.
 steken, ii. 97 ; to bar the door, to
 shut out.
 stelón, i. 386 ; stole.
 stoued, ii. 80 ; stunted, limited.
 sterching, ii. 50 ; starching.
 store, ii. 6, 170 ; to stir.
 stero, ii. 10 ; a steerman.
 stere, ii. 125 ; stout, strong.
 storen, i. 62 | storn.
 steryngo, ii. 185 ; stirring.
 storn, i. 64 ; a star.
 storno, i. 304 ; fence.
 styde, i. 365 ; place.
 stiede, ii. 204 ; mounted.
 stel, ii. 183 ; style.
 stiere, ii. 10 ; to steel.
 stioro, ii. 10 ; a steerman.
 stif, i. 398 | firm, strong.
 styffe, i. 394 ; to become strong, or
 firm.
 styffnesso, i. 405 ; strength, rigi-
 dity.
 stigh, ii. 9 ; mounted, ascended.
 stile, ii. 171 ; steel.
 stille, i. 269 ; quietly.
 stit, i. 71 ; put an end to.
 stynted, i. 386 ; desisted, ceased.
 stirid, i. 379 ; stirred.
 stirt, i. 90 | started, rushed.
 stoude, ii. 111 ; stoned.
 stonden, ii. 241 | to stand.
 stony, ii. 200 ; am astonished, am
 confounded.
 stonyed, i. 386 ; astonished.
 stont, i. 365 ; stands.
 stopene, ii. 178 | stop, hinder.
 stound, i. 72, 304 ; a moment, ■
 * period of time ; in a stound, at
 once.
 stour, 216 ; battle.
 stoute, ii. 196 ; strongly, power-
 fully.
 stownde, ii. 125 ; time, moment.

stowre, i. 61 ; fight, battle.
 strayth, i. 275 ; straight, tight.
 strake, i. 416 ; a stroke.
 strate, i. 74 ; street or road (?).
 streche, ii. 180 ; to go, to hasten.
 strenkith, i. 89 ; strength.
 strenuité, ii. 200 ; courage, force of character.
 strevyn, i. 83 ; striven.
 strie, i. 405 ; to destroy. stried, i. 381 ; destroyed.
 strive, i. 71 ; strife.
 stryve, ii. 9 ; to make strife.
 stroye, i. 398 ; stroy, i. 64 ; to destroy. stroyed, i. 385 ; destroyed.
 stronte, i. 401 ; to rant.
 stronters, i. 406 ; ranters.
 strountynge, i. 397, 398 ; strontynge, 400 ; ranting.
 strowun, ii. 110 ; strow, scatter.
 sturte, i. 380 ; struggle (?).
 subdite, ii. 197 ; subjected.
 subies, ii. 196 ; subjects.
 subjit, ii. 9 ; subject.
 sufferayn, ii. 208 ; sovereign.
 sugre, ii. 145 ; to sugar, to sweeten.
 suld, i. 68 ; should.
 summyse, ii. 227 ; subject.
 superfluo, ii. 70 ; superfluous.
 supplusage, ii. 283 ; surplus.
 surquedous, ii. 213 ; arrogant.
 surreccioun, ii. 247 ; insurrection.
 sustryn, ii. 209 ; sisters.
 suwit, ii. 107 ; follows.
 swyn, i. 266 ; so.
 swage, i. 218 ; to diminish.
 swayne, ii. 228 ; swan (?).
 swche, i. 278 ; such.
 swolt, i. 89 ; died.
 swych, *passim* ; such.

swink, i. 69 ; swynk, ii. 154 ; to labour.
 swire, i. 82, 341 ; neck.
 swith, i. 71 ; quick.
 swythe, i. 394 ; quickly, immediately.
 swoch, i. 271 ; such.
 swoldo, ii. 230 ; sold.
 swot, ii. 51 ; sweet.

T.

tabide, i. 327 ; to abide.
 tables, ii. 24 ; tablets, table-books.
 taburns, i. 87 ; tabors, drums.
 taillo, ii. 70 ; cutting, fashion.
 take, i. 314 ; to give.
 tale, ii. 78 ; count.
 taliage, ii. 79 ; the king's tax.
 tappe, ii. 95 ; to draw and sell ale.
 tapstores, ii. 95 ; ale-wives.
 tarage, ii. 141 ; the flavour or character of a thing.
 tarette, i. 65 ; a sort of ship, perhaps a large vessel with a tower.
 targe, i. 217 ; a shield.
 tary, ii. 166 ; delay.
 telde, i. 388 ; told.
 tempied, ii. 5 ; moderated, tempered.
 tene, i. 71 ; ii. 125 ; grief, sorrow, affliction.
 tene, i. 224 ; to afflict, to grieve.
 tonet, afflicts. tenyd, i. 395 ; injured, hurt.
 tent, ii. 227 ; attend to, pay attention to.
 tent, i. 384 ; tente, 385 ; entent.

- tents, i. 339 ; tenths, tithes.
 tentze, ii. 12 ; the game of tennis.
 termyne, ii. 144 ; to end, to deter-
 mine.
 terre, ii. 171 ; tar.
 teschue, ii. 6 ; to eschue.
 thanne, ii. 41 ; *not far thanne*, ne-
 vertheless.
 the, *passim* ; for they.
 tho, ii. 159 ; to flourish, to thrive.
 thee, i. 313, ii. 180 ; to thrive, to
 flourish.
 thesly, ii. 60, by theft.
 thenayle, ii. 182 (?).
 thende, ii. 12 ; the end.
 thenke, i. 216, 268 ; to seem, to
 appear ; *me thenkes*, it seems to
 me.
 there, *passim* ; their.
 thilke, ii. 37 ; that.
 thynchith, i. 397 ; appears ; *me*
thynchith, it seems to me.
 thir ; those.
 thof, i. 266 ; though.
 tholde, ii. 9 ; the old.
 thonkyd, ii. 281 ; thanked.
 thorowgh, ii. 194 ; through.
 thorwe, i. 364 ; through.
 thought, ii. 182 ; tough.
 thred, ii. 268 ; third.
 threo, i. 252 ; three.
 thross, i. 398 ; throve.
 throughte, ii. 241 ; truth.
 throwe, ii. 159 ; space of time.
 thurgh, ii. 5 ; through.
 tyde, i. 59, 269 ; time.
 tyde, ii. 249 ; happen.
 tiffelers, i. 309 ; busybodies.
 tight, i. 72 ; turned (?).
 til, i. 260 ; tyll, i. 58 ; tillo, i. 264 ;
 to.
 tillo, ii. 83 ; to entice, to draw.
 tillers, i. 376 ; tillers, husbandmen.
 timber, i. 72 ; destruction.
 tyned, i. 395.
 tyno, i. 88 ; to lose.
 tint, i. 79 ; lost.
 tyrie, i. 48.
 tithandes, i. 64 ; tithings.
 tythoth, ii. 50 ; taketh tithes.
 toburst, i. 251 ; burst to pieces.
 tobrake, ii. 10 ; broken.
 tobrake, ii. 10 ; broken to pieces.
 todongin, i. 79 ; knocked to pieces.
 todrawe, i. 341, ii. 235, torn to
 pieces.
 tofallo, ii. 7 ; cut off, crops (?).
 tofore, ii. 10 ; before.
 toforne, ii. 137 ; before.
 toke, i. 268, ii. 165 ; gave ; *toke*
ham to the devel ychone, gave
 them all to the devil.
 tole, i. 314 ; toll.
 tolo, i. 331 ; a tool, an instrument.
 toloye, ii. 240 ; to put forward.
 tolled, i. 395 ; collected, took toll
 of (?).
 too, ii. 158, *et passim* ; two.
 toon, ii. 106 ; the one.
 toothir, ii. 147 ; the other.
 topull, i. 308 ; pull to pieces.
 torace, i. 342 ; annihilate (?).
 toront, ii. 219 ; rent to pieces, or
 greatly rent.
 torne, ii. 162 ; turn.
 toseed, ii. 161 ; picked, pulled, as
 wool, &c. A term used among
 clothiers.
 tote, i. 305 ; to spy.
 toloro, i. 311 ; to tear to pieces.
 tothrete, i. 218 ; to threaten vio-
 lently.

totore, ii. 239 ; torn to pieces.
 tourne, i. 340 ; to turn.
 toukore, ii. 285 ; ■ class of dyes.
 tray, i. 322 ; to betray.
 tray, i. 72, ii. 125 ; grief, sorrow.
 traylid, i. 376 ; trellis-worked (?).
 traine, i. 322 ; they betray.
 trais, i. 79 ; betray.
 traiste, i. 68 ; to trust.
 traitorie, ii. 28 ; treason.
 trantes, i. 265 ; tricks, stratagems.
 travayle, i. 218 ; to labour.
 travailler, i. 385 ; laboured.
 traveile, i. 371 ; to labour.
 travell, ii. 23 ; labour.
 travell, ii. 27 ; to labour.
 trefte, i. 376.
 treget, i. 79 ; deceit, imposition.
 tremelyng, ii. 276 ; trembling.
 trentall, ii. 21, trentel, 81 ; a service of thirty masses for the dead.
 trost, i. 79 ; trust.
 trotes, i. 307 ; treats (?).
 trey, i. 72 ; vexation.
 triacle, i. 388 ; a remedy, medicine.
 trifflour, i. 397 ; a trifler (?).
 tristi, i. 385 ; trusty.
 tristith, i. 404 ; trust.
 trompes, i. 87 ; trumpets.
 troper, ii. 43 ; one of the service hooks, the *tropæus*.
 trouble, ii. 181 ; troubled, disturbed.
 trougt, ii. 168, 195 ; truth.
 trowist, ii. 68 ; believest thou.
 trowyth, i. 271 ; truth.
 trumpe, i. 69 ; ■ trumpet.
 trumpe, i. 70 ; to blow the trumpet.
 trusse, i. 264, 326 ; to pack up and depart, to pack off.
 turbit, ii. 173.

turmentour, i. 397 ; an executioner.
 twen, ii. 214 ; between.
 twye, tvey, ii. 42 ; two.
 twynned, i. 404 ; parted, separated.
 twynte, i. 395 ; a jot.

U.

uch, i. 216 ; each.
 umset, i. 77 ; surrounded.
 umstride, i. 68 ; to encircle with the legs.
 inability, ii. 184 ; inability, incapacity.
 unboxom, ii. 42 ; disobedient.
 uncod, i. 364 ; unknown.
 underfongen, ii. 11 ; undertaken.
 underlaide, ii. 254 ; to lay under foot, to tread down.
 underminyn, ii. 84 ; undermine.
 undernome, ii. 22 ; to take up, to take to task.
 undernomen, ii. 85 ; examined, accused.
 understont, i. 327 ; understands.
 unfraught, ii. 191 ; want of freight.
 unhale, i. 74 ; diseased.
 unhold, i. 317 ; faithless.
 unkyndly, ii. 244 ; unnatural, contrary to the nature or profession of any one.
 unkunning, ii. 36 ; want of knowledge. Used as an adjective on the next page.
 unmightie, ii. 37 ; wanting power.
 unnothe, i. 215 ; hardly.
 unpower, ii. 36 ; want of power.

unsekyrnosse, ii. 242; insecurity, uncertainty.

unsele, i. 85; unfortunate.

unsewyr, ii. 241; insecure, uncertain.

unsiker, ii. 78; unsure.

unwænnesse, ii. 190; want of caution, imprudence.

up-so-down, ii. 217, 236; upsid-down. This latter is apparently only a corruption of the older phrase.

ur, i. 215; our.

urniall, i. 313.

uttoro, i. 403; further out.

utterno, ii. 175; they utter.

utterwarde, ii. 157; externally.

nyol, i. 225; evil.

V.

vailable, ii. 8; profitable.

vairo, i. 265; ■ sort of fur.

vantith, ii. 249; boasts, vanities.

varioure, ii. 132; ■ warrior.

vanwarde, ii. 57; the van of an army.

venomed, ii. 244; poisoned.

venorye, ii. 186; game, animals which were hunted.

vongeable, i. 328; revengeful.

venym, ii. 74; poison.

venyrsyne, ii. 267.

verrei, ii. 65; true.

verrie, ii. 167; for *werrie*, make *verrie*.

viørge, ii. 270; virgin.

vylis, ii. 249.

vys, i. 278; vice.

voyd, ii. 287; avoid.

vöidli, ii. 103; vainly.

W.

wadmole, ii. 160; a coarse woollen cloth.

waffore, ii. 174; a wasp (?).

wagingo, ii. 50; wagging, turning round.

wayke, i. 264; weak.

waykyer, ii. 276; the weaker.

waylyth, ii. 284; availoth.

waynyth, ii. 227; think, suppose (?).

wait, i. 60; to await (?).

wayt, ii. 127; watch.

waite, i. 371, 372; to watch, to consider or think on, to pay attention to.

waited, ii. 10; watched, served.

wayve, i. 378; to remove (their fears).

wake, ii. 276; to awake.

wakkin, i. 72, 86; to awaken.

waloway, i. 48; alas!

wall, i. 312; ■ well.

walmed, i. 397; properly boiled up, agitated.

waltrid, i. 390; waltered.

walwed, i. 374; wallowed.

wano, i. 65; plenty, frequency.

wanmand, i. 70, 84, 87; the wane of the moon.

wan, i. 264, 377; won, redeemed.

wapin, i. 71; a weapon.

wapind, i. 67; armed, provided with weapons.

war, i. 59; were.

ware, i. 277. Perhaps *on ware* should be printed *onware*, in the sense of unawares.

ware, i. 275; to beware.

- wared, ii. 244 ; expended.
 waened, ii. 192 ; warned.
 warie, i. 399 ; to curse.
 warned, i. 404 ; forbade. warned,
 ii. 4 ; refused.
 wast, ii. 244 ; ruined.
 wastable, ii. 173 ; subject to waste.
 wate, i. 268 ; know.
 wate, ii. 153 ; to watch.
 wattis, i. 414 ; men of importance.
 waves, i. 216 ; waves.
 wawlis, ii. 109 ; perhaps for waves.
 waxen, i. 268 ; grown.
 waxus, i. 365 ; waxes, grows.
 weddis, i. 408 ; pledges.
 wede, i. 71, 85 ; apparel, dress.
 wede, i. 269 ; to go mad.
 wedores, ii. 44 ; has perhaps here
 the senso of lompets.
 wedir, i. 387 ; weather.
 wede, i. 397 ; dress.
 went, ii. 17 ; know.
 wegges, ii. 171 ; wedges.
 wele, ii. 6 ; weighed.
 weythe, ii. 286 ; weight.
 welde, i. 306 ; to govern, to wield.
 welders, ii. 78 ; possessors.
 wele, i. 63 ; weal, prosperity.
 wele, i. 62 ; well.
 weleaway, ii. 112 ; an exclamation
 of lamentation.
 weleful, i. 81 ; prosperous.
 wely, i. 267 ; prosperous, in good
 condition.
 welldith, i. 407 ; possesseth.
 welle, i. 218 ; a fountain.
 wenen, i. 267 ; suppose, think.
 wened, i. 64 ; though, expected.
 wenyngo, ii. 166 ; supposing.
 went, i. 271 ; gone.
 weole, i. 250 ; weal, prosperity.
 weor, i. 218 ; were.
 wopeand, i. 82 ; weeping.
 were, ii. 44 ; to defend, to protect.
 were, i. 59 ; to make war.
 were, i. 77, 86 ; war ; *were man*, a
 man of war.
 were, i. 215 ; to wear.
 weyrne, ii. 152 ; were.
 wermode, ii. 52 ; wormwood.
 werned, ii. 5 ; refused.
 werre, ii. 194 ; spring, for *verre*.
 werred, ii. 189 ; expended.
 weirid, i. 369 ; made war.
 werrynges, ii. 183 ; making war.
 wenoles, ii. 203 ; without war.
 werryours, ii. 188 ; warriors.
 werroure, ii. 199 ; a warrior.
 weschoth, ii. 53 ; screameth (?).
 wesshe, i. 387 ; to wash.
 welon, i. 329 ; they know.
 wex, ii. 163 ; wax.
 weryngo, ii. 143 ; growing.
 whore, i. 387 ; were.
 whete-yeie, ii. 223 ; the wheatear.
 white, ii. 148 ; blame.
 whote, i. 89 ; knowest.
 wlate, i. 337 ; to loathe.
 wlysp, i. 185 ; to lisp.
 wy, i. 407 ; a man.
 wickott, i. 404 ; the gate.
 wiel, ii. 7 ; well.
 wyenges, i. 269 ; wings.
 wyght, i. 407 ; creature, wight.
 wight, i. 69, 85 ; active, nimble.
 wyghte, ii. 241 ; white.
 wyghtly, i. 268 ; nimbly, quickly.
 wiht, i. 250 ; a creature.
 wyle, i. 369 ; while.
 wylo, i. 273 ; will.
 wylls, i. 386 ; wiles, tricks.
 willerdome, ii. 247 ; wilfulness (?).

- wilne, i. 306 ; to wish, to desire.
 wyne, i. 266 ; to gain access to.
 wynt, i. 216 ; wind.
 wirche, ii. 4 ; to work, wirching,
 il. 184 ; working.
 wyrfolk, ii. 285 ; workmen, work-
 folk (?).
 wyrkkyd, ii. 284 ; worked.
 wyrlynge, ii. 187 ;
 wysely, ii. 183 ; prudent.
 wislth, ii. 226 ; shows, points out.
 wisse, i. 310 ; warn.
 wissen, i. 370 ; to teach, to warn.
 wisen, i. 322 ; they knew.
 wit, i. 70 ; to know.
 wite, ii. 148 ; wyte, ii. 208 ; blame.
 wyth, i. 364 ; for *wight*, active.
 withholde, ii. 244 ; defended, pro-
 tected against.
 wythoutene, ii. 202 ; without (the
 " prep.).
 withsay, i. 321 ; to deny.
 wytte, i. 377 ; to blame, to lay to
 one's blame.
 witterly, i. 370, ii. 82 ; truly, cer-
 tainly.
 woday, i. 48 ; a day of woe (?).
 wode, i. 74, ii. 167 ; mad, furious.
 wolde, i. 218 ; to hold (?).
 wolle, i. 278 ; wool. wollys, ii. 283 ;
 wools.
 woltow, ii. 148 ; for *wilt thou*.
 wombis, i. 391 ; bellies.
 won, ii. 87 ; wone, ii. 196 ; custom.
 wonand, i. 74 ; dwelling, residing.
 wonde, i. 84 ; stop, stay.
 wonde, i. 216. If this be the correct
 reading, it may be a club.
 wonder, i. 250 ; wonderful.
 wonder, i. 251 ; wonderfully.
 wonen, i. 77 ; won.
 wones, i. 266 ; dwellings, residence.
 woneth, i. 377 ; dwell.
 woning, i. 66, 89 ; dwelling, resi-
 dence.
 wonne, ii. 224 ; one.
 wounen, i. 267 ; to dwell. wouno,
 i. 388.
 wonnen, i. 71 ; won, gained.
 wounynges, i. 270 ; dwelling places.
 woo, i. 364 ; sorrow, sorrowful.
 wood, i. 312 ; mad.
 woode, ii. 180 ; wood.
 woodnosse, ii. 55 ; madness.
 woost, ii. 104 ; knowest.
 worth, i. 62 ; ii. 249 ; be, become.
 worthill, i. 71 ; worthy.
 wost, i. 370 ; knew.
 woves, i. 390 ; waves.
 woves, ii. 244 ; walls, more espe-
 cially the walls of houses.
 wox, i. 251 ; waxed, grew.
 wrake, i. 252, 375 ; ii. 53 ; wrack,
 ii. 218 ; ruin, destruction, ven-
 geance.
 wrall, i. 314 ;
 wreche, ii. 227 ; wroke, i. 89 ; re-
 venge.
 wrenchis, ii. 48 ; stratagems, frauds.
 wrye, i. 384 ; go aside.
 wrynkele, ii. 45.
 writhyn, ii. 90 ; to twist, wriggle.
 writte, i. 370 ; a letter.
 wro, i. 305 ; a corner.
 wroken, i. 61 ; revenged.
 wrote, i. 78 ; to root up, to over-
 throw.
 wrowght, ii. 205 ; made, created.
 wullus, i. 412 ; wools.
 wun, i. 79 ; won.
 wust, i. 337 ; protected (?).

Y.

Y, *passim*; I.

y, i. 365; high (?).

y, i. 276; they.

yafe, i. 324; gave.

yall, i. 315, 345; to yell.

yarne, i. 387; to desire eagerly.

yates, i. 305; gates.

yeve, ii. 25; to give.

yblowe, ii. 245; blown.

yeharchid, i. 408; charged.

yehone, i. 267; everyone.

yeonyd, ii. 286; coined.

ydemed, i. 403; judged.

ydo, i. 391; done.

ydowntid, i. 375; feared.

yef, i. 333; give.

yefte, ii. 27; gifts.

yemo, i. 378; to guide or rule.

yerles, ii. 197; curles.

yever, ii. 25; giver.

yleyned, i. 371; feigned.

yfburned, ii. 43; informed.

ygon, i. 385; gone.

ygrave, i. 375; engraved, *Sculptured*.

yheeded, i. 380; horned, headed.

yhelid, i. 402; covered, roofed.

yhotte, i. 403; bidden.

ykoude, i. 319; known.

ykep, i. 365; kept.

yovech, ii. 24; giveth.

ylafte, i. 413; left.

ylanzte, i. 309, 409; caught.

ylyste, i. 373; listed, taken.

yloke, i. 375; locked.

yluggyd, i. 409; pulled or lugged about.

ymagynyng, ii. 270; plotting.

ympo, i. 218; a sprout, a young sprig, a graft.

ymprise, ii. 152.

ymummyd, i. 410; compelled to keep silence (?).

yuned, i. 398; harvested, brought in.

ynnore, i. 401; further in.

ynowe, i. 386; enough.

yois, i. 272; pleasure, enjoyment.

yoven, ii. 140; given.

ypynned, i. 388; fledged, penned.

ypassid, i. 381; past.

yrent, i. 311; torn.

ysoupid, i. 414; supped.

ytakyn, i. 387; taken, caught.

ytemprid, i. 374; mixed, tempted.

ytoion, i. 366; torn.

ywys, i. 365; truly, surely.

yworewid, i. 395; worried.

ywounded, i. 403; wrapped, enveloped.

ywröwte, ii. 284; made.

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